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New Sections:
1. Arts and Crafts
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THE REFORM IN INDIA	BY SIR THOMAS BENNETT, M.P.	PAGE 361
GENOA AND THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE INTERESTS OF THE U.S.A. IN CHINA	BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.	371
THE SITUATION IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST	BY THE HON. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P.	381
PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION:		
SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE, CHIEFLY HINDU- ISTIC	BY K. N. SITARAM	386
INDIA IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: WHAT SHE GAINS	BY SIR VALENTINE CHIROL	418
JAPAN	INCE OF WALES'S VISIT	BY A JAPANESE 488
	IN "AGAINST OPIUM	
	Hsin Chi' (Chinese Charge d'Affaires in London)	442
	OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA—III.	
	BY J. A. SANDBROOK (Editor of <i>The Englishman</i>)	448
	ON:	
	ELEMENTS IN INDIA (SPECIALLY CONTRIBUTED)	454
	ON:	
	THE FUTURE OF CHINA	
	BY T. BOWEN PARTINGTON	459
ARTS AND CRAFTS:		
THE BURMESE CRAFTSMAN AND HIS WORK	BY H. B. HOLME (Director of Industries, Burma)	468
(Continued on p. 50 2 of cover)		

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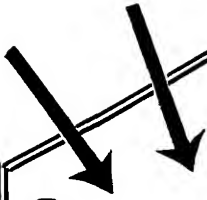
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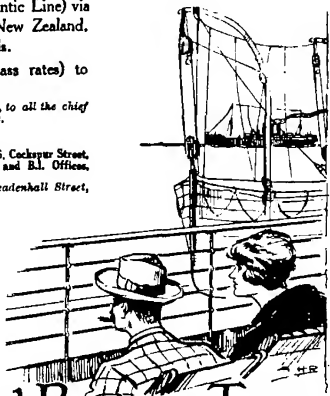
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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1922 91

THE REFORM IN INDIA

BY SIR THOMAS BENNETT, M.P.

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I HAVE been asked to give the readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW some account of the impressions which I formed during a brief visit to India during the last cold weather. Five years had passed since I had been in the country—years of change and movement everywhere, and of serious social and political disturbance in many parts. It may be interesting to people in England, with whom it is an article of faith that all the trouble we have had in India has been generated by the declaration of August 23, 1917, and the constitutional changes which have been developed from it, to know that at the time of my previous visit, the end of 1916, there was already widespread expectation of change in the legislative institutions of the country. And these expectations were not by any means given expression to only by impatient demagogues. Men of eminence and influence in the governing hierarchy were by every mail urging upon the Government at home that the Morley-Minto constitutional system had served its purpose, that its defects were manifold and manifest, and that a new departure must be made in a direction to be frankly indicated. No one who was in India at the end of 1916, or at the beginning of 1917, could fail to hear on all hands a recognition of the need for a definition, *urbi et orbi*, of the goal towards which the constitutional expectations of the political classes might be turned. I had many opportunities of discussing the situation with all sorts and conditions of men, and in not a

single instance did I find a belief that a steady persistence in carrying on things as they were was all that was needed. The assumption to-day of English reactionaries that you had only, in Melbourne's comfortable phrase, to "let it alone"—even with the addition of gaol for everyone who did not keep quiet—must seem hopelessly erroneous to anyone who saw for himself what the conditions were in the early years of Lord Chelmsford's viceroyalty. It is true that one heard louder complaints concerning the regulations by which practical application was given to the principles of the Morley-Minto reforms than concerning the reforms themselves. But those who looked for a system of legislation and government which should open out the way to a real participation of competent Indians in the government of their country recognized the fundamental shortcomings of the scheme. Beyond the fact that it had for the first time introduced the principle of direct election of parliamentary representatives it was not really a progressive measure. For it in no sense provided for an advance on the way to responsible self-government.

The differences between the system that was working in 1916 and that which was set in operation at the beginning of last year are, of course, fundamental. But I am not sure that they are fully recognized by public opinion in India, even amongst men who value the Act of 1919, and are determined to work it loyally. The action of the Legislative Assembly last year in passing a resolution asking for the introduction of responsible government in the central administration ignored the frankly experimental spirit in which the Act was framed, and when the difficulties of the situation were aggravated early this year through the action of the non-co-operators, and the measures taken by the Government of India and some of the Provincial Governments in consequence, it was surely in forgetfulness of the measure of the advance provided for in the Act that a number of honest and sober-minded politicians urged that the best remedy for the troubles of the moment would be

to increase the number of subjects transferred from executive control to the control of ministers and the popular vote. The remedy was not suited to the ailment. Further, it took no account of the dimensions of the functions already transferred to the ministers and the legislative majorities whom they represent. The word "concessions" almost fell to the rank of a "blessed word" of the Mesopotamian order. Everybody was ready to urge them, but no one was able to show that they could possibly have any curative relation to the difficulty of the hour, which was to ensure the maintenance of internal peace and order without having recourse to extra-judicial measures. I believe, notwithstanding, that outside the ranks of the frankly malevolent opponents of the Government there was a genuine appreciation of the immensity of the advance that has been secured under the Reforms Act. The success of Mr. Sastri's missions, the near approach that India has made to full Dominion status in the councils of the Empire, and, above all, the concession of fiscal autonomy, are in a daily increasing measure impressing Indians with the fact that she stands in the Empire for far more than she did in the days before she was initiated into the ways of self-government. But there are clouds upon the prospect opened out to India by the Act of 1919. Wherever I went the newly-awakened national self-consciousness of the Indians appeared to me to be hurt and irritated by recent experiences in other parts of the Empire. The name "Kenya" carries with it the exasperating implication that, while the Empire means everything that is inspiring to an Englishman, to an Indian it may mean a lower status than that of his fellow-subjects, disabilities in the acquisition and holding of property, inequality in franchises and civil rights. Men for whose loyalty I can vouch said to me, "If Government let us down in Kenya we can no longer support them." The widespread antagonism which I found in the Indian mercantile community to the contemplated transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office is derived from the same source.

The Colonial Office, because of the Kenya trouble, is very much under a cloud in the view of Indians, and Mr. Churchill's strange indiscretion at the East African dinner has darkened and deepened the cloud. Those who cherish the ideal of India as an integral part of the Empire, in duly co-ordinated partnership with the Dominions, will do well to recognize the dimensions of this problem of the status of Indians in the British Commonwealth.

I have been asked many times since my return if I thought the reforms were working successfully. The question is not easily answered—certainly not by an abrupt "yes" or "no." They are now in their second year of operation, and we must wait until at least the next General Election before passing a comprehensive verdict upon them. If at many points the new legislative bodies are not doing as well as a good citizen would wish, let us at least remember not only the novelty of the enterprise, but the bitter hostility with which they have been confronted. Apart from what Ireland may have to show us, history supplies no parallel to the malignancy with which the non-co-operating faction worked to bring about their failure. (I wonder, by the way, how the enemies of the reforms in this country reconcile the Ghandyite boycott of these bodies, with their favourite delusion that the non-co-operation movement and all the violences associated with it were the result of the Chelmsford-Montagu policy.) Notwithstanding the terrorism to which the followers of the Mahatma resorted in order to prevent candidates from coming forward, there were 1,957 candidates for the 774 seats to be filled in the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, and the eight Provincial Legislative Councils. There were contests for 535 of the 774 seats, and for these seats 1,718 candidates braved the hostility of the boycotting factions. In view of the persistent efforts that have been made in England to show that as an experiment in democracy the elections were a failure, it may be well to point out that the percentage of votes polled in contested elections was, on the

whole, remarkably high. A parliamentary paper issued last year shows that in Madras City and two Madras districts over 50 per cent. of voters went to the polls, the poor results in the southern districts of the Presidency being attributed mainly to severe floods at the time of the elections. In the United Provinces one "general" rural constituency polled 66 per cent., eleven over 50 per cent., and eight between 40 and 50 per cent. In Behar and Orissa the general average in contested elections was 40 per cent. I quote a passage from the same paper, which may well be set against recent attempts to show that the Councils have no democratic basis :

"The general average of rural voters (who form the great majority of the voting population) is considerably higher than was commonly anticipated, having regard to their previous almost total inexperience of elections in general, and to the not inconsiderable distances which had frequently to be traversed between the voter's home and the polling station. In Behar and Orissa it was noticed particularly that rural voters displayed marked interest in contests where the real interests of the cultivating classes were stirred and an appeal was made by a candidate of their own."

I was lately confronted at a political meeting with Sir Michael O'Dwyer's argument that the new Councils could not be considered to be democratic bodies since so few of the electorate had voted for them. I was not at the moment able to produce figures on the other side, but I was able to supply a useful substitute by telling my critic that however reluctant Indian electors might be to exercise the franchise, it had not yet been deemed necessary in India to introduce a Bill like that which a respected "Die-Hard" member of the House of Commons had recently brought in to make failure to vote a punishable offence in England.

There seemed to be a general belief in India the other day that at the next General Election the polls would be larger than those in November and December, 1920. There will be no repetition of the attempt to boycott the elections,

but there is the possibility of the undesirable alternative of an attempt to swamp the Legislatures by extremists. The moderate parties are fully alive to this contingency. I should be glad to learn that they are everywhere taking the appropriate measures for preventing it.

When the reforms were in preparation it was the fashion to condemn them in advance, on the ground that no representative system could work fairly in India because caste predominance would certainly vitiate the best scheme that the wit of man could devise. Errors in anticipation may be pardoned, and it is easy to excuse the non-Brahmins who pleaded so anxiously before the Joint Committee for protection against the Brahmins in Southern India. But there is no excuse for people who still try to "crab" the reforms by alleging in Parliament and the Press that not only are the new Councils a sham, looked at from the democratic point of view, but that they have handed India over to the tender mercies of a Brahmin oligarchy. Had the enemies of the new constitution been less enamoured of a group of stereotyped fallacies they would have abandoned this long since disproved pretence. The Under-Secretary of State was asked in the House of Commons a few weeks ago if he would supply a statement showing how many Hindus had been elected to the respective Councils, and what proportion were Brahmins. The information was not at once available, but it was promised in due course. In the meanwhile a partial answer has been provided, which I may commend to the notice of those who still think that representative institutions in India are bound to be Brahmin preserves. In the return from which I have already quoted there is a reference to the remarkable success of the non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency—the province in which the fear lest Brahmins should carry everything before them was loudly expressed amongst the other castes, and echoed by the enemies of the reforms in this country. "Although," we are told, "they constitute the great bulk of the population, the non-Brahmins expressed grave appre-

hension as to their position under the Reform Scheme, in the belief that they would fail to secure adequate representation on the Provincial Council, and that the twenty-eight seats reserved for them to safeguard their interests would prove wholly insufficient. On this Council seventy-four seats were open to all Hindus, of which non-Brahmins secured no less than fifty-four." To complete the story it should be added that the whole of the Ministers in Madras are non-Brahmins, Lord Willingdon, in the true spirit of a constitutional Governor, having chosen all his Ministers from the majority of the elected Councillors. We may be sorry for the Brahmins of Madras, amongst whom there are many men of character and capacity. But it is encouraging to see a great constitutional enterprise set on its way, unhindered by those special influences which, we were told, must prove inimical to the working of representative institutions in India.

It is too early to pronounce judgment upon the working of the scheme as a whole. Some of those who have been in most responsible contact with it would probably say that it has succeeded in proportion to the extent to which pure diarchy was departed from. Certainly the working of diarchy has not been hampered by attempts to attain mechanical uniformity. One hears in one province that the Executive Councillors are not as much given to ready co-operation with Ministers as they are in others. I shall refrain from indicating where greater harmony of action is to be found, and where less. But there is nothing invidious in saying that in some provinces there had been no marked readiness to comply with the injunction of Lord Selborne's Committee that while Executive Councillors with their reserved subjects, and Ministers with their transferred subjects, should faithfully bear responsibility within their allotted domains, there should be free exchange of ideas between the two halves of the Provincial Governments. In others co-operation and joint consultation have been carried so far that the lines of demarcation between reserved and

transferred subjects have, in the field of deliberation, at all events, become faint. This does not necessarily imply that the separate responsibility which rests upon the two parts of the administration has been obscured. Much, as was foreseen, depends upon the way in which the Governor fills the part assigned to him under the Act and the Regulations. He is empowered to make rules for the conduct of business, and I was told that if I were to ask for a copy of these rules from each province to be laid before Parliament some marked divergences would be revealed. The machinery of diarchy has not yet been subjected to all the strain to which it is liable. The Governor's power of "certifying" votes rejected by the Legislature has still to be brought into operation. May it be long before any Governor has to resort to it! The Viceroy prefers an open deficit of nine crores, or twelve crores, or whatever the disastrous figure may ultimately prove to be, to certifying the additional taxes which the Legislative Assembly have rejected. In this way a constitutional crisis is staved off, and harmony—of a sort—is maintained between the Executive and the Legislature. But the situation is painfully unreal, and it is made none the more tolerable by the widespread belief that the big military budget, which is the cause of the deficit, represents, not the deliberate view of the Government of India concerning the limits of necessary army expenditure, but an irreducible minimum forced upon India by military authority at home. If that belief should be warranted it is clear that no retrenchments in civil expenditure, or the operations of the "Inchcape axe" next winter, will bring about financial equilibrium. It is the hard fate of the new Legislatures, Imperial and Provincial, that they should have had to start on their career burdened with deficits resulting from growing expenditure and diminishing revenues. When I was in Madras and Bombay I heard much of the grievances of those two Governments against the Government of India, and Mr. Patro, the Minister of Public Works and Education in Madras, has since, as a

counsel of despair, pleaded for the sympathy of Parliament in behalf of the Provincial Governments crippled by the claims of the Central Government on their diminishing revenues. But the whole of the contributions which they are called on to make does not exceed the nine crore deficit in the central budget, which probably represents half the real shortage which must be faced. The new Legislature have before them splendid opportunities of showing how far an Eastern democracy can be infused with the spirit of economy.

And there will be opportunities not less testing. From many quarters there come demands that India should at once march forward to the goal of full self-government. This demand was submitted to Parliament three years ago, and was then deliberately rejected. I venture to put it to my friends in India who have so far dealt in the counsels of moderation that they will do well to take the Act of 1919 as it stands, and to work loyally and patiently for the attainment of its declared purpose. Dominion self-government is the ultimate goal, but it is fundamental to the policy embodied in the Act that the advance shall be made in stages, as it has been made in all the great self-governing communities in the world. The working of the Councils so far has not been so smooth and easy that new demands can be made upon the political capacity of the Indian democracy, and upon the not too abundant administrative resources which the country is able to supply. At the time the Act was passed I wrote in the pages of this REVIEW, "India will have quite enough to do in the next decade in developing and educating an electorate, and in learning how to choose the best men for the Legislative Councils, just as the Councils themselves will have enough to do in developing a parliamentary spirit and parliamentary aptitudes, and in learning how to get the best work out of the men selected to serve it in the ministries." As one who ardently desires to see the Councils of to-day filling their destined place as training-grounds for the self-governing institutions of the future, I venture to repeat the advice which I tendered to

my fellow-subjects in India three years ago. I shall certainly have with me some of the most distinguished of the progressive politicians in India in again asserting the need for developing and educating an electorate. Bombay, as I learn from the report of the recent conference of Indian Liberals, has made a beginning. But there are provinces in which nothing has been done to supply this crying want, and it is little more than a year to the next General Election.

GENOA AND THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE INTERESTS OF THE U.S.A. IN CHINA.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.

IT remains to be seen how much of the "Special Correspondence" at the Washington Conference will be worth re-reading a year hence, or what value we can ascribe to opinions expressed as to a permanent settlement of the Pacific question. In these days the world moves like a kinema show. Events flash before the eyes. Hardly have three-quarters of an audience grasped the significance of a picture than it has vanished, to give place to a fresh incident.

Such a kaleidoscopic passing of events as we have been accustomed to may suit Europe and America, but it does not represent normal life, the life which the majority of human beings, especially Orientals, desire to live.

In these ancient civilizations such methods have not worked. It is only necessary to note the present state of events in China and India to realize this. True it is that the old order passeth, and how extraordinary the change that has come about in the East since pre-war days is, few people in Europe and America understand. But the East will not be hustled. If Western nations persist in enforcing on Asiatic races European and American methods of life, thought, and material conceptions, Europe and America will have to answer for the cataclysm that may ensue.

In the West we have arrived at what some are pleased to call the height of civilization. To many who know the East, its past history, psychology, and codes of life, it remains to be proved, if, in so arriving, we have not discarded some of the most priceless possessions which life

has to offer. To mention only two: Leisure, with the opportunity to understand what life really means; contentment with simple things. Not that the leisure referred to is incompatible with a strenuous life. But it is not to be found in conjunction with the endless, aimless, seeking after material success or pleasure characteristic of so much post-war social and business life. Nor is the East less happy than the West because of its contentment with a simpler life. Who that knows would affirm that the poorer classes in Europe and America are one whit happier than the still poorer millions of China or India—at least, as these latter were while still left in peace to evolve their own destiny?

It may be of interest to turn for confirmation of the above reflections to a book just published. It is from the pen of an American writer. Dr. Paul Reinsch, late U.S.A. Minister in Peking, has collected the experiences of his six years of office under the title of "An American Diplomat in China." Though unacquainted at first-hand with the Chinese, their age-long problems, political, ethical, and economic, Dr. Reinsch has thoughtful words to utter of both people and Government. In China the people are vastly more important than the Government. As a student of wide culture, and as an authenticated observer of men and things, Dr. Reinsch's review of his life at the Chinese capital should be of value to all thoughtful Americans.

In the Introduction to his book Dr. Reinsch demands pertinently: "When we ask ourselves what are the elements which may constitute China's contribution to the future civilization of the world, what are the characteristics which render her civilization significant to all of us, we enter upon a subject that would in itself require a volume merely to present in outline. . . .

"The secular persistence of Chinese civilization has given to the Chinese an inner strength and confidence which make them bear up even when the aggressiveness of nations more effectively organized for attack seems to

render their position wellnigh desperate. Can the world fail to realize that if this vast society can continue to live according to its traditions of peace and useful industry, instead of being made the battle-ground of contending Imperial interests, the peace of the world will be more truly advanced than it may be by any covenants of formal contrivance? Declarations, treaties, and leagues are all useful instruments, but unless the nations agree without afterthought to respect the life and civilization of China, all professions of world betterment would be belied in fact. If China is to be looked upon as material for the Imperialistic policies of others, peace conferences will discuss and resolve in vain."

It is right that we should remind ourselves of the fundamental differences between East and West before passing on to a consideration of America's future interests and activities in China and the Pacific.

Setting aside as beyond the scope of this article the resolution adopted by the Washington Conference on the limitation of armaments, let us briefly consider the treaties directly concerned with the Pacific and Far Eastern questions which were definitely agreed to and signed.

What are these treaties worth? Have either the Four-Power or the Nine-Power treaties concluded at Washington done more than reiterate catchwords current for the last twenty years in the Far East? The open door in China; the abolition of *likin*; the safeguarding of China's sovereign rights; equality of opportunity; no spheres of influence. To quote Dr. Reinsch once more: "International action as seen from Peking during this period (1913-19) did not have many reassuring qualities. In most cases it was based upon a desire to lose no technical advantage of position; to yield not a whit, no matter what general benefit might result through mutual concessions. Each one was jealously guarding his position in which he had advanced step by step. Some were willing to make common cause with others in things that would not always

commend themselves to a sense of equity, in order that they might take still another step forward."

Again, the honest enquirer after results is bound to ask: Have all or any of these international difficulties been definitely settled? It is only necessary to study carefully the final report upon the Washington Conference to realize how much care and discrimination has been given to the drafting of every word of each individual article composing the treaties. What, on paper, could be clearer or more definite than the intention expressed in Article 1 of the Nine-Power Treaty (*vide* p. 44, British White Book Miscellaneous, No. 1, Washington, 1921-22)? But as Mr. Reinsch in his book (p. 335) declares with emphasis in discussing the action of Japanese militarism in China: "What is needed to cure such evils is not lip-service to political liberalism, but a change of heart." And the same remark applies with equal force to most of the articles contained in the Four and Nine-Power treaties.

Observance of the spirit, not alone of the letter, of the various treaties can make them live.

But there is one achievement of great potential value. Allusion is made to the institution of the "Board of Reference," to which any questions arising in connection with the general policy of the contracting parties concerned may be referred for investigation or report. This Board is designed "to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity."

In this opportunity for frank and free discussion of opposing policies at any future period of international strain lies the hope of permanent settlement of Far Eastern problems. So far, the discussion of the value of the treaties signed at Washington has been confined mainly to the allied Powers concerned. Let us now glance briefly at their value to China. For, however it may have been camouflaged at the time, to save China from disruption,

also from herself, was the *raison d'être* of the Washington Conference.

One of the extraordinary traits comprising the national character is the Chinaman's ineradicable habit of *laissez faire*. So long as an individual Chinaman is guaranteed peace and the opportunity to go about his own or his family business, he is utterly callous to the fate of fellow-provincials who inhabit other portions of the so-called Republic. That this national characteristic is slowly being eradicated, thanks to the pressure of outside forces, is true. Not until this has happened can there be any hope of a united and self-reliant China—in other words, of peace in the Far East.

A very shrewd observer of Chinese character has lately written as follows of this national failing.*

"PEKING, March 8.

"The inter-provincial and inter-factional feuds which have been raging in this country for ten years have made it apparent, after raising many high hopes and successively blasting them, that the unity of China cannot be achieved through an agreement among the factions upon a division of the spoils. All such agreements are made to be broken. All such agreements are made within limited corporations and leave outside scores of disgruntled folk, whose only hope of sharing with the parties to the agreement lies in rebellion. All such agreements are designed to perpetuate the traditional rights of officialdom to the exploitation of the people, and, though they include every recognized official clique in China, never fail to conjure up out of obscurity champions to oppose them, champions of the people, real or bogus.

"In the immediate present one can conceive of no more than two forces that could unite China with any degree of permanency. One might be a 'cause,' a *l'i-mu* the Chinese call it, so much bigger than the selfish interests of the factions that they would be lost in it, and the other might be the force of an overwhelmingly strong man, good or bad, who would give all the factions such a terrific drubbing that respect for authority would be newly engendered in the Chinese official bosom. The only 'cause' which

* Rodney Gilbert, in the *North China Herald*, March, 1922.

could possibly be big enough to obliterate party causes throughout China would have to lie in aggression from without. Internal reform cannot be expected to appeal to the officials whom it would disarm. The cause of internal reform has never even made a sufficiently strong appeal to the demonstrative students to elicit a demonstration except when internal mismanagement could be traced to external aggressive influences.

"If the reader will think back over the movements which the students have inspired since they first began to demonstrate he will realize this. It is particularly apparent in the present official and popular attitude towards Shantung. While the Japanese were extending their influence in that province, and appeared to be there to stay, there was profound and sustained interest in China's 'holy land.' The very moment that assurance was given that the Japanese were going to withdraw, and that it was to be added to the field of native official exploitation, the whole interest lapsed absolutely. Official corporations, organized with the deliberate purpose of exploiting the restored railway, salt-fields, and other public properties, so that they will be rendered nearly or wholly useless to the people, attract not the slightest attention unless someone suggests that these Chinese corporations for exploitation propose to sell their acquired rights to the Japanese—then some degree of interest is revived.

"So long as the outsider is excluded from the game, official monopolies might tear up the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway and sell the rails at auction (a good many patriots would be there buying them in); they might reduce Tsingtao to a fishing village again; they might steal the marbles from Confucius' tomb and incorporate them in their palaces of refuge in the foreign concessions, and you could not get three Chinese to meet together and cry out against it in any public highway in China. They might meet in the back room of a tea-house and whisper about it, and the upshot of their whispering would be a scheme for forcing their way into the privileged corporation."

What, then, is America's particular task in China?

Dr. Reinsch supplies one answer as to American policy. "The difficulties I encountered," he writes, "arose from the fact that a great deal was expected from a country so powerful, which had declared and always pursued a policy so just to China. . . . But America had no political aims,

and desired to abstain particularly from anything verging on political interference, even on behalf of those principles we so thoroughly believe in. I had learned to have great confidence in the ability of the Chinese to manage their own affairs when let alone, particularly in commerce and industry. That was the first desideratum, to secure for them immunity from the constant interference, open and secret, on the part of foreign interests desirous of confusing Chinese affairs and of drawing advantage from such confusion."

Here, in outline, was the aim of the Washington Conference.

It remains to enquire into the capacity of America to carry out such a policy. As has been well said, the Chinese are a nation of individualists among whom as yet there is no unifying national sense. Americans, on the other hand, are described by a keen observer* as being "very national in their sentiments and seeming to have no taste for internationalism as a form of government. In fact, they resent it strongly. They work for themselves first, and for America next and all the rest of the time."

So far as the Chinese as individualists can be inoculated with the virus of American nationalism, these contradictory characteristics may eventually fuse and help China. But a nation like America, so strongly national in its bent to the exclusion of more international views, may not be able to offer the kind of support best calculated to help China to throw off her individualism.

American Republicanism in no sense represents Chinese democracy. Truly democratic, in the best sense of that much-abused word, China has been for centuries past; but virile American hustle, together with this particular brand of Republicanism—totally unlike that of France—is a dangerous foundation upon which to try and build an Oriental Republic. It is unwise to forget that the new wine of Republicanism is a heady compound to be taken in

* Colonel Repington in his new "Diary."

small quantities. As Dr. Reinsch found from his own experience, "one of China's best assets is still the retention among all classes of loyalty, piety, and that sense of the fitness of things which gives meaning to the otherwise out-of-date ceremonial of Chinese social life. This innate courtesy is more than etiquette, in that it embodies faith in visible form in everyday observances and the relations and duties upon which society rests."

To endeavour to do away with these inherent traits in the national character, or to supplement them by Western methods of thought and action such as universal franchise for both sexes, steel-trusts, etc., will not tend to help China. *Festina lente* is no bad motto for any country suddenly endowed with a new form of government. Nowhere is such a motto more applicable than in China's case, where three thousand years of monarchical control preceded the meteoric fall of an almost semi-divine ruler and the institution—on paper—of a full-blooded Republic.

There is a new factor which bears, indirectly in one sense, directly in another, upon the results of the Washington Conference. It is the dramatic conclusion of the Russo-German Treaty at Genoa, a treaty which, when its full terms see the light of day (at the time of writing, May, they are not yet given out), may be one of the most epoch-making the world has known. There are two methods of regarding the Rappalo Treaty. If we accept the view given expression to by a well-known weekly,* we may see in it "the model on which the trade and comity of Europe will be built up"; also as an attempt on the part of the only two sensible nations left in Europe to wipe out irrevocable debt and start again.

The other view of the treaty may be briefly expressed as "hell let loose." To any careful student of European politics it has for long been evident that some such *rapprochement* was inevitable. For if both Russia and Germany are to be outlawed from the comity of nations, as

* The *Nation* and the *Athenæum*.

so far has been the case, they must in self-defence combine to save their political and economic lives. And such combination was made all the more inevitable by the fact that Russia and Germany at present each lack just what the other can give. Industrial support of every kind in all branches of her economic life is Russia's vital need, not to mention the military assistance of an highly-trained personnel and modern war equipment. Germany lacks, first, economic markets for her manifold reviving industries. Secondly, and what is, perhaps, the chief temptation to Germany, cannon-fodder for the inevitable *revanche*. Where better can this be found to hand than in the millions of homeless, hungry, unemployed Bolshevik Russians, careless how they live if only they can live?

If this "outlaw policy" is pursued to the bitter end there can be small doubt that the Russo-German Treaty will form the jumping-off ground for another balance-of-power war in Europe. Russia and Germany will sooner or later be joined by other States inimical to the Treaty of Versailles and to the Allies, in all probability by Turkey. If this should happen the world's Muhammadan population becomes ranged with Russia and Germany, and what this would mean to French and English interests in the East no serious follower of Asiatic politics will need to be reminded. The future action of the Russo-German Treaty cannot, therefore, be confined to Europe. It may be used eventually to set the torch to the smouldering fires of Bolshevism already honeycombing the East and Far East. It may well form also the basis of an open split between East and West, already nearer than an overstrained and self-occupied Europe imagines. Russia, it should not be forgotten, is, and always has been, at bottom a semi-Oriental State; and as such can easily assimilate Oriental ideals and adapt herself to Oriental ways. What a powerful Russo-German-Turkish league might mean to American interests in the Far East it is hardly necessary to discuss. Any such combination must give Japan "furiously to think"; and

when Japan is thinking on such lines it behoves America to go warily.

Though unrepresented at Genoa, America can help. Should anything unforeseen interfere to loosen the close ties between England and America which bound them together at Washington, President Harding will have toiled in vain. The Russo-German pact will then supersede the Washington Conference as arbiter of the world's destinies.

THE SITUATION IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

BY THE HON. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P.

THE failure of the Treaty of Sèvres and absence of any alternative peace with Turkey constitute the chief cause of trouble to the world in the Near and Middle East. The present unsatisfactory position—unsatisfactory from everyone's point of view except that of the Khalifat extremists in India and of the Soviet Government of Moscow—is the chief underlying cause of difficulty throughout the Balkan Peninsula, in the Arab provinces, in Central Asia and India, in Egypt, and is proving a fruitful seed-bed for Allied dissensions. The first question to be answered is whether Turkey—the Angora Government of course—wants peace with the West at all. There are good reasons for believing that many of the most powerful people and forces behind the Angora Government would reject peace on any terms however favourable. We have to remember that the Angora Government relies for its very existence on the support of the very large number of Turkish officers, more particularly junior officers, who have everything to gain and little to lose by the continuation of the present state of affairs. With peace, any real peace, their occupation, hopes, and prospects would be gone. Then there is Moscow. Moscow uses Angora very cleverly as a useful pawn in its game against Western civilization and against the Western League of Nations. Moscow is now the dominant military power of a potential new league of Asiatic nations arrayed against the West. Communism is, after all, not the end of Russian policy, but merely a means to an end. Fundamentally Bolshevism is a violent reaction against Western conceptions of religion, law, freedom, and social evolution.

In this it bears no little resemblance to Gandhi's view that all Western Governments are inherently satanic, that railways and machinery are evils, that democratic ideas about political equality are all bunkum, and that the only hope for mankind is "back to the Vedas."

Similarly Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali wanted not Indian constitutional reforms on a European model, but a restoration of Muhammadan rule in India something on the lines of Arungzeb. Now Turkey, by reason of its historical and geographical situation, plays a very important part in this conscious or more often subconscious Asiatic revival against Europe. After the Huns of Attila and the Golden Horde of Genghis Khan came the Turk with his great military achievement in the sixteenth century, whereby from the leadership of a small tribe of nomad warriors the Ottoman House became the head of a great European and Asiatic Empire, and by right of conquest the temporal head of the Sunni faith. The Turk has therefore behind him a proud military tradition and still possesses great religious prestige as the sword of Islam. He occupies in Asia Minor a unique and almost unassailable geographical position, and in Asia Minor he remains unconquered. The loss of his Arab provinces in the Great War has, so far from weakening the Turk, been in many ways a source of strength to him. He has been able to obtain a concentrated and intensified national spirit in lieu of a not very successful imperialism.

The Greek landing at Smyrna in 1919 made modern Turkey, and enabled her leaders to turn defeat by the Western Powers in 1918 into something indistinguishable from victory in 1921. The return of Constantine to Greece, the divergence of view between Great Britain and France in regard to all Near Eastern questions, the differences of view even in the British Cabinet revealed by Mr. Montagu's enforced resignation, all played Turkey's game; but just as in the past Russia was Turkey's most formidable opponent, so Bolshevik Russia has been and still is her most useful friend. On March 1, 1922, Mustapha Kemal Pasha

announced to the Turkish National Assembly that the consolidation of their friendly relations with Soviet Russia was the first essential of Turkish foreign policy. Russia is represented at Angora by one of the ablest of revolutionary Russia's very able and very realist agents, who can with the help of some of the old C.U.P. organization do much what he likes with the Turkish officers who rule at Angora.

Nevertheless, the position is not hopeless. The older men in Turkey would like peace with the West, and cannot bring themselves to face with much satisfaction the vista of years of travail through which the Bolshevik leaders would have them go. There are a good many Turkish officers even who are remembering that Constantinople is about the only Turkish city fit for an educated Turk to live in. The average Turk is beginning to doubt whether by backing the new Russian against the West, and more particularly against the Englishman, he is not backing the wrong horse. Whatever Tchicherin may say to the contrary at Genoa, Russia still stands, like Gandhi, for non-co-operation with the West. For propaganda purposes, it is called non-co-operation with "capitalist" states. The Turk is beginning to doubt whether he individually or his country is going to get as much as he thought out of this non-co-operation. Quite a few Turks would like to see Turkey represented at the League of Nations at Geneva—the final anathema of every true Bolshevik. The older Turk wants peace, but he is prepared to hang out for a stiff price unless the Western Allies are going to be strong and back their views with force—a contingency which the Turk regards as remote. After all the Allies had not the troops to send to Smyrna themselves and sent the Greeks instead. Even the French have to send black troops to Syria, and the British have only Indian troops in Palestine. The spectacle of the rôle played by England in Mesopotamia and Egypt and Ireland since the Armistice is not lost on the Turk. In Turkish eyes English liberalism has always stood for English weakness.

There are those—even of the Western Allies—who tell the Turk that he has only got to hang on and sit tight, and all, and more than all, the national pact of Angora will fall like a ripe apple into his mouth. France and England are now too divided ever to enforce any peace treaty like the Treaty of Sèvres. Greece cannot go on much longer. Greece faces internal political strife, a tired and disappointed army, financial difficulties, and has few (if any) friends among other nations just now. Greece is paying dearly for preferring Constantine to Venezelos.

The pious aspirations of the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy have been effectively rejected. For Near Eastern purposes the so-called "Supreme Council" has always been a failure. Nobody in the East ever thought it meant what it said or was prepared to back its "recommendations" by effective action. If peace by agreement between Turkey and the West is to come about it can only come about through the League of Nations, or by a series of separate treaties with individual nations. Mr. Lloyd George's "rich and renowned lands of Thrace" will be the great stumbling-block when the time really comes for settlement. Any land frontier between Greece and Turkey is likely to mean another war fairly soon. The best hope lies in a neutralized separate state under a League High Commissioner between the Maritza and the Rodosto Midia frontier, wherein Turk, Bulgar, and Greek are treated as equals, and no one put over the other two. In the Thracian question—Eastern or Western—the future of Bulgaria is more important from a world point of view than that of either Greece or Turkey.

The recrudescence of "massacre propaganda" on both sides is one of the inevitable sinister features of the existing situation, just as the massacres—on both sides—will go on till there really is peace. The massacres are ugly facts that cannot be condoned or excused. But their exploitation for purposes of propaganda has most sinister results, particularly when religious and not political motives are attributed.

War in the East among people of different races cherishing the memories of bitter feuds and hatreds is a very ugly business, especially for the non-combatant population. Western Europe and America are so self-conscious that they have given little thought to what is going on at the gates of Europe. The English voter thinks Turkey a long way off, and the American Senator is indifferent, but the world can ill afford to stand by much longer. Above all, does Britain want peace in the Near and Middle East? And if so, is she prepared to make some effort to get it? And if she is prepared to make the necessary effort, will her present statesmen deliver the goods? Turkey is not an unimportant country, and on which way she finally goes much history will depend.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE, CHIEFLY HINDUISTIC

BY K. N. SITARAM

INDIAN architecture, like Indian poetry and religious thought, is a product of the climate, the geographical conditions, and the genius of the race. For all practical purposes India is a continental unity by herself, bounded by the sea and mountains which shut her out more or less completely from the rest of the world. Therefore her architecture, like her sculpture, mythology, and poetry, is very national, and possesses a splendid isolated unity of its own, which marks it out from the achievements of the other branches of the human race. Foreigners might come, plunder her shrines, ruin her temples, massacre whole populations of inoffensive folk, and compel the rest to embrace an alien faith; hordes after hordes might do this, some barbarously and some in a more civilized way, but still she remains as she ever was—a universal mother unto all, stretching out her hands of welcome, taming down their ferocity, and, finally, Indianizing them. The tendency to absorb an alien culture, and to so thoroughly Indianize it that the foreign element can scarcely even be suspected, is as true of her religious thought as of her achievements in architecture.

No other man loved his native land—her streams, mountains, plains, and skies—so passionately as the Indian, nor felt to such an extent that he was only a link in the grand necklace of Prakriti, or mother Nature, as the Indian. This love and devotion to her is reflected, not only in the Suktas of the “Rig-Veda,” but has been a continuous tradition echoed down through Valmiki, Kalidasa, and Bhavabhuti, down to Bankim and Tagore. This

passionate love of the surroundings, this deep feeling of being one with all Nature, is again and again not only echoed in poetry and religion, but finds its utterance in sculpture, architecture, and painting. Sita, when she is about to leave her hermitage on the banks of the Godavari, exclaims "That where the very trees and the animals were like her own kith and kin," and Sakuntala is moved to tears on taking leave of the trees and deer of Kanva's hermitage. This inspires some of the sublimest teachings of the Upanishads, and lies at the root of the Jain and Vaishnavite ideas of "Ahimsa," as well of the Karmic theory of the Brahmin and the Buddhists, and can be traced as well not only in the sculptures of Amaravati, Sanchi, and Boro-Budur, in the frescoes of Ajanta and Sigiriya, but also to a limited extent in architecture as well.

Architecture in India is only a prayer in stone, and a due appreciation of it is impossible without her poetry and sculpture. Though it may sound rather curious, it is none the less a fact that the Indian genius was more fond of sculpture than of architecture or painting, and that, even when they execute to perfection, still the vision that guides and inspires is more that of sculptors than of architects or painters. The process by which they reduced whole mountains into monolithic temples, like the Kailasa or the one at Kalugumali, and fashioned Viharas and Chaitya halls from the living rock of the Western or the Eastern Ghats, or cells and caves like those of Ajanta, is the same which produced in a later age statues of the Thirthankaras at Sravana Belgola, Yenur, Karakala, as well as on the rocks of Gwalior. This tendency to reduce rocks to architectural constructions, as in the case of the Rathes of Mahabalipura, is, like sculpture, producing forms through subtraction, and not, like architecture, producing forms through addition. The Gopurams of the so-called Aryavarta style appear so kneaded as a whole out of clay, and the Sikharas and Vimanas of the Dravidian style appear lost in a forest of figures.

In the treatment of the specimens that survive to-day greater attention will be bestowed on the Hinduistic types, Brahmin or Hindu, Buddhist and Jain, than on the types which were erected in India after the advent of Islam, and labelled "Indo-Saracenic." Hindu shrines generally are either Vaishnavite, Saivite, Saktic, or Saura; Buddhist ones belong either to the Mahayana or the Hinayana, and the Jain ones were erected either by those belonging to the Svetambara or the Digambara sect. For the purposes of this lecture, not only buildings that survive in India proper within the limits defined before, but also those found in Greater India, as Ceylon, Java, Burma, and Cambodia, will be taken into consideration.

No country in the world has been so unfortunate as India in regard to her history and architecture, or suffered so much at the hands of foreigners. Foreign invasions and foreign vandalism perpetuated from the sixth century till recently, the climatic conditions of a scorching sun, heavy rainfall, and destructive thunderstorms, and the encroachments of a dense tropical vegetation, have all combined to destroy more than even the pathetic neglect of her own children.

If the early Muhammadan invaders saw to it that no ancient Hindu building of any architectural beauty was left standing above the ground level, when once it had met their sympathetic eye (north of the Vindhya), the roots of the banyan tree and a dense vegetation sufficed to reduce to ruin temples at Somnathpur and Anuradhapura and Polonurawa. The representatives of an enlightened Government equally saw to it that the sculptures of the Gangaikonda-cholapuram found a place in the construction of the grand anicut of the Kaveri, the marbles and remains of some at least of the Krishna stupas found a due place in furnishing lime and road-paving, aided successfully elsewhere in road-making by the remains of Orissa temples, not to speak of covering up and building in to what extent they could, or restoring Vellore, Gwalior, and many a

similar fort or fortress. Indigenous greed had also its share of the spoils. The story of the achievements of the Andhra zamindars in utilizing the Krishna stupas as building material, of the use which the site of the ancient Ayodhya served in the erection of Fyzabad, the use which Gaur and many a similar capital served, even in modern times, need not be told.

Of those buildings that remain, or have been uncovered by excavation, none go back beyond the Mauryan period, excepting the walls and dwellings of old Rajagriha, "all built of rough cyclopean masonry." This old city, celebrated as the capital of Jarasandha, played a part in the Mahabharata, and contained a rocky fortress whose cells served to imprison captive princes until Krishna and Bhima set them at liberty. King Bimbisara, a contemporary of the Buddha, is said to have removed the Magadhan capital to the new or Nava Rajagriha, and to have thus indirectly caused its desertion and consequent ruin.

Of the buildings of this pre-Mauryan period, though as yet few have survived or been excavated properly, enough can be gathered from literature to give us a fairly good notion of what they must have looked like, in spite of the descriptions being more poetical than architectural. So much is clear, that cement, bricks, and wood played a greater part in construction than stone, and the first fine stone building that was erected was probably the audience hall of the Pandava princes designed for them by the half-mythical Maya. However, allusions are to be found in plenty throughout the Vedic literature, as well as in the Ramayana, to the existence of stone buildings, and to the use of stone as a building material.

The early schools of architecture probably originated in India because of the *Sattras*, or sacrifices. The exigencies of erecting the Vedic altars of the various kinds and dimensions, of providing huge covered places where the spectators could be fed and discussions held, may have furnished the models for many an old royal palace, as that of King Sudas,

Janaka Trasadasyu, Mandhata, and others. Here, at these sacrifices, were witnessed the recital of the Puranas, the redaction of many an old text, and here probably originated the Silpa Sutras, which later on developed and became a part of the still wider science of Vastu-Vidya. In these constructions wood must have played the chief part, and the huge halls with rows of columns must evidently have been imitated from Devadaru forests which clothed the Himalaya, and the white colour which seems to have been the favourite for spires must have been suggested by the snow-capped peaks of the same. "A building white as Mount Kailas and as lofty" occurs again and again in Sanskrit literature. So Chunam or Sudha must have been employed to a very large extent, and even the audience hall of the Pandava princes, with its crystal floors and beautiful gardens, is said to have been of the colour of a new-born cloud, or white. Early Buddhist literature alludes to palaces with many floors, to "Upari, Prasada Tala," etc., and contains plenty of allusions to the architectural creations of the period. The white colour stood out far better against the sapphire blue background of an Indian unclouded sky, or against the jet-black of a thunder-clouded monsoon sky, than any other colour, and hence no wonder that most of Kalidasa's palaces are of this colour; so also the inimitable Taj, to admire which fully one should see it in the beautiful flush of an Indian dawn, in the burning midday sun, as well as when the whole sky is flooded by an autumnal moon, with the lilies in the tank opposite in full bloom.

From this very early period books were written on architecture, which continued to develop as a Silpa-Sastra, a branch of the larger Vastu-Vidya, and formed the original from which the latter books on the same as the Kamikagama, Yantrasara, Mayamata, Manasara, the scattered fragments of the Puranas and of the Niti and Artha Sastras treating about architecture, were developed.

If one really cares to work at the subject, not only does the

Sanskrit literature furnish us with valuable data, but also Tamil and other vernaculars of India.

Buildings were erected with more than ten floors, and the various kinds of temples were classified as Vimana, Meru, Kailasa, Mandara, etc. Mandapas were erected with varying number of pillars in various shapes and styles, so as to resemble the lotus closed and open, the water-lily, the creeper gourd, palm-leaf, water-pot, and various other designs, surrounded or set in the midst of gardens and parks with aviaries, fish and lotus tanks, fountains, artificial hillocks, summer and winter pavilions, and picture galleries (*chitra-salas*).

With the advent of the Mauryas to sovereignty, and especially with the accession of Asoka, we find a glorious period of architectural activity, when more use is made of stone as a building material than at any previous period. Even the fortifications of Pataliputra, as described by Megasthenes, were of wood (*i.e.*, during the days of his grandfather, the first founder of the dynasty). The buildings in stone of this period (besides the few brick ones) and other monuments in stone comprise "a series of isolated columns erected by the Emperor (Asoka) at various places in North India—the remains of a pillared hall at Patna, which probably formed part of a royal palace designed apparently on the model of the Achæmenidean palaces of Persepolis (according to Dr. Spooner and Sir John Marshall); a group of rock-cut shrines in the Barabar Hills in Behar; a small monolithic rail at Sarnath; a throne in the interior of the temple at Bodh-Gaya; some portions of the stone umbrellas at Sanchi and Sarnath; three structures in the round—two in the Indian museum at Calcutta and the third at Mathura."

The technique of these monoliths and of the huge faces of rock polished to receive the inscriptions, the interior of the dedicatory caves polished almost like glass, the carting of the pillars to long distances and their erection surmounted by capitals and animal figures, betoken a very high

degree of architectural and engineering skill. The animal sculpture of this period is perfect, and the art is indicated by a spirit of frank naturalism as fresh as that which inspired the Dawn hymns of the Rig-Veda, an art thoroughly human, a perfect mirror of the social and the religious life of contemporary India, full of gaiety and a real pleasure in life, a period as yet unspoiled by foreign invasions. To take only one instance, the Sarnath lions form the finest animal sculpture in the ancient world. The combination of vivid and realistic modelling, ideal dignity, and the flawless accuracy of every detail, would do credit even to a Landseer. The architectural fecundity of that period is well represented by the tradition which attributes to him (Asoka) the erection of 84,000 stupas, and may not be a mere exaggeration, but may have included small and even insignificant structures in wood and brick erected to commemorate holy events. The ruins of his palace, still standing during the visit of one of the Chinese pilgrims, was considered to be a marvel of art and to have been built by genii. Of another type of building, the stupa, which the Emperor Asoka is said to have favoured considerably, several examples have come down to us, differing in dates from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D., scattered over such places as the banks of the Krishna, Bhilsa, Barhut, Sarnath, and the frontier, the seat of the ancient Gandhara kingdom, and even across the frontier in Afghanistan and Central Asia. Probably those at the frontiers and beyond India were a little later than the third century A.D. But anyhow, all the stupas conform to a general rule of architectural construction, and are semispherical or dome-shaped mounds, surmounted by umbrellas, generally of stone, enclosed by railings or Pradakshina paths, and entered by gateways, one at each of the four directions. The circular dome or mound was probably covered with fine plaster or chunam, and decorated with frescoes depicting the life of the Master and the history of the local stupa; the stone umbrellas were full of the most beautiful chiselling, overhung with banners and garlands;

and the toranas, or gateways, and the railings as well contained the best specimens of the art of the sculptor depicting Buddhistic stories and the ordinary life of the people.

Later on Ceylon, Burma, and other countries which borrowed the religion of the "enlightened one" from India, borrowed his relics as well as those of the other holy personages of the Doctrine and enshrined them in stupas, otherwise called Dagobas (from the Sanskrit *Dhatugarba*), in similar circular mounds evidently following the models of the Mother Country. Of the stupa railings those of Amaravati, Buddha Gaya, and Bharhut serve as good examples, and of the toranas, those of Sanchi, the most beautiful being the northern (though the eastern has received so much admiration from Europeans as to find a place in the museums at London, Paris, and Berlin), afford a good illustration. Most of these stupas were evidently built to enshrine a relic of the Master or of his disciples, as is evident from the discoveries already made, or to commemorate a sacred occurrence. It is a fact familiar to every student of Pali and Buddhism that after the Parinirvana of the Master even the higher powers fought to obtain his relics so as to enshrine them in suitable stupas.

The origin of the stupa has been a matter of controversy, some deriving it from the earthen tumulus or burial mound, and others from a bamboo structure, or aboriginal hut, like that of the Todas. Certain it is that, as they are now found in a perfect form of development, the link massing and probably the stone structures were modelled after or replaced earlier prototypes in wood. In Vedic literature the word stupa means "the crown of the head," and in the South Indian architectural parlance, the topmost part of the building, generally dome-shaped. The sculpture that adorns some of these early works, especially those of the Gandhara country, Amaravati, Bharhut, and Sanchi, is of a very high order, and the same must have been the case in Ceylon, as evidenced by the existing remains. Among these Sanchi occupies the first place and Amaravati the second. At

Sanchi we find the Indian animals, and especially the wisest among them, the elephant, chiselled to perfection, and Indian men and women in their overflowing gaiety and vigour move in typical Indian surroundings, in spite of the large amount of supposed Persian influence. They have never a look of detachment, as in a Western sculpture, but form part or are only a page in the grand story-book of surrounding nature, a unity with the bud, the animal, and the creeper, feeling like a Sita or a Sakuntala an innate and close relationship; of the Amaravati stupa the site is now empty, and the fragments are either in the British or the Madras Museum, and from these remains of white marble and from the stupas chiselled on them it is quite possible to say how the Amaravati structure must have looked before the hands of the British and the Andhra zamindars began to meddle with it. The area is just like the Bhilsa district, and must have consisted of a whole wilderness of stupas, as the many at Ghantasaila, Bhattiprolu, and Gudivada testify. In the Gandhara country and Ceylon also their number must originally have been legion, and since they generally conform to a general architectural pattern, need no further mention. Mention was made earlier in the paper of the pillars erected by Asoka, their exquisite finish and technique. Followers of Hinduistic faiths other than the Buddhistic did the same, and erected pillars, either dedicatory or votive, to mark important events, or as dipadanas or lamp-posts, or as flag-staffs or dhvajastambhas. Among these the Garuda pillar at Besnagar and the iron pillar near Delhi are the earliest, while the dhvajastambhas at Ellora and Badami are medieval, and the graceful columns and dipadanas which adorn South Canara, as at Mudebidri, Yenur, etc., the work of the Digambara Jains, still later. From this time the practice of erecting flagstaffs or dhvajastambhas became an integral part of Hindu temple architecture, though the material in which they were built differed. That of the Kailasa is in stone, while the later South Indian temples

began to substitute wood for stone, and as a compensation to cover it with gilded copper plates, so as to look like gold.

Besides the stupas the early Buddhists excavated caves, chaityas, and viharas, hewn out of living rock. Of the chaitya halls the largest number are found along the western coast of India in and about Poona, as here the mountains furnished the most favourable material. Among these may be mentioned as the most important those at Bedsa, Bhaja, Kanheri, Nasik, Kondane, Pitalkora, and Karli.

The chaitya hall of Karli is the largest in size, and has exquisite pillar capitals. Caves are found in the hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri, rendered doubly important by their inscriptions. The caves of Ajanta—at least the earlier of the twenty-nine—fall within this period. Not only from the point of view of painting do these (of Ajanta) occupy a prominent place, but architecturally also they mark an important epoch, and the chaitya hall stands next only to that of Karli in grandeur. Of the frescoes it may be said that they are not only interesting as a mirror of the social and the contemporary life of the time, as a picture story-book of the Jatakas, as a central point influencing the art of later India, of the Gandhara country, of Turkestan, China, Japan, Burma, Ceylon, and Java, but are of the greatest value to a botanist, zoologist, and ethnologist; for here not only every tree, shrub, and animal found in the valley is depicted in its natural surroundings, but the different races who followed and revered the tenets of the “Sacred Master” find a place.

If the sculptures of the gateways of Sanchi prove that they are more the work of ivory carvers or embossers than of stonemasons or sculptors, these early caves, such as those of Lomasa Rishi, Ajanta, Nasik, and others, prove that they are only literal imitations of wooden prototypes, and the earlier the caves are, the more they are enslaved to their traditions of wood. It is curious that in some places

stone has been cut away and actual beams of wood inserted. Here, at the end of the seventh century after Christ, one may say that for all practical purposes Buddhistic architecture ends, and the Brahmanic and the Jain begin their heyday of glory, which they have maintained until to-day. For about this period, or shortly after, Buddhism, which had become diluted into Mahayanism already by many a Brahmin, though Buddhist born, teacher like Nagarjuna and Kumarajiva, was absorbed by Puranic Hinduism, and ceased to exist as a separate faith. The buildings of the Gupta and Harsha periods of Hinduistic revival, which witnessed the birth of a Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Varahamihira, Samudragupta, Harsha, and Bana, the period so very enthusiastically described by the Chinese pilgrims, the period which produced a sculpture such as that of the Buddhas of Sarnath, did not achieve great gems of architecture. To surmise from a few isolated examples what old schools of style might have been is too daring, and so, till better and more material is available, it is wise to confine our remarks to discovered specimens.

The caves of Elephanta, the Kailasa Temple, and the Sabhas at Ellora, the earlier temples of Badami, Pattadakal, and Aihole, may have been finished before the eighth or ninth century. Elephanta, within an hour's reach from Bombay, though it has suffered much at the hands of the foreigners, especially the Portuguese, and from the climatic conditions, still contains some splendid sculptures, of which the so-called Trimurti is familiar to many.

The Kailasa Temple is a masterpiece of architectural skill, a hill being chiselled away to make a temple, and contains some very fine sculptures. Besides this Brahmanic creation the Buddhists and Jains executed beautiful shrines and halls out of living rock, the chief of which may be mentioned: the Indra-Sabha. Badami Temple contains some of the most spirited ever executed by the Hindus, and at Aihole one can see an unbroken sequence of styles from the fifth century to the fourteenth, from the earliest

Brahminical cave to the latest medieval temple. The rathas of Mahabalipuram, thirty-five miles south of Madras, must have been erected during this period; for inscriptions record therein the Pallava kings under whose patronage they were executed. Here one can see all the stages from the time that the chisel was first applied to the rock, to the most perfectly finished ratha—the Dharmaraja ratha.

Beside the rathas (Sanskrit, "ratha" a chariot), dedicated to the five Pandavas, there are other rathas, like the Ganesa ratha, which might have served as a model or at least a source of inspiration for the gigantic creations of the Chola Emperors. Besides these architectural triumphs Mahabalipuram contains some very fine sculptures, among which may be mentioned the penance of Arjuna, the descent of the Ganges, its Naga, bull, and monkey sculptures. Other Pallava buildings of this period erected at Kanchi, the Pallava capital (mentioned in the conquests of Samudra-Gupta and by Hiuen Tshang), are the temples dedicated to Kailasanatha, Muktesvara, and Vaikuntha Perumal. The earlier temple of Sangameswar, and the slightly later one, the Virupaksha at Pattadakal, clearly show the South Indian influence, although to designate the temples of Dharwar and Mysore, the name Hoysala, or the still more incorrect description "Chalukya," has been invented. Sangameswar is now partly in ruins, while Virupaksha, like most of the temples of Mysore and Dharwar, is still dedicated to divine worship.

From the tenth century onwards building activity ceased definitely in Upper India, though it still continued unabated in Central and South and in Greater India.

The medieval temples which have come down to us can be divided locally as Orissan, Hoysala, Dravidian, and Jain, though the classification regarding Dravidian and Jain is far from being correct, as some at least of the temples in South India were originally Jain and became converted thereafter into Hindu uses. The Jain architecture of the northern branch, the Swetambaras, differs

considerably from that of their southern brothers, the Digambaras, and in its latter phases has borrowed much from the building canons of the so-called Indo-Mughal and Rajput schools. Further, some of their structures have a very close resemblance to those of the Orissan or the so-called Aryavarta school, so that it is absolutely impossible to say which is which from architecture alone without the aid of iconography. The Hoysala is only another variety of the Dravidian, and the Dravidian has not only influenced temple building throughout Mysore and Dharwar, but has located some of its temples even at Brindavan. Its influence, not only in sculpture, but also in architecture, can be traced even in Ceylon, Java, Bali, and Cambodia; for of all the Indian races the Tamils are the greatest colonizers, and they are found to-day not only in Africa, the islands of the Pacific and India Oceans, but also in Central America and the West Indies.

Of the temples of Orissa, the best representatives of the so-called Aryavarta or the Indo-Aryan style, those that stand to-day, in spite even of the kind attentions of the Public Works Department, the English Army officers, and tourists, were erected between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries. The Navagraha Temple, the Bhuvaneswara Linga Raya, the Rayarani, the Konarka, the Mukteswara, and the white pagoda of Puri, are the best representatives of this school. Many have expatiated on the merits of the Mukteswara and the Linga Raya. Rajaram contains some very fine sculptures, and possesses with the Konarka the special merit of offending, if not shocking, European taste. Konarka, or the black pagoda, is a vimana constructed to represent a chariot—the chariot of the sun—and was dedicated to that deity and might have drawn its inspiration from a similar and earlier one at Tanjore. The temple of Chidambaram contains a vimana shrine, and Vijayanagar possessed one till recently, a stone car, till the attention of the local collector was drawn to it. To the white pagoda additions have been in progress, and, though the site of

Jagannath is very ancient, it is difficult to say whether originally it was Hindu at all.

The earlier of the Jain temples at Parswanath, Satrunjaya, Ranpur, and Mount Abu belong to this period. On the Mount Abu Temples a special monograph might be written. The Vimala Saha and the Tejpal temples are real gems of Upper Indian and Jain art, in spite of their stiff and conventional sculpture, unnecessarily stereotyped by strict religious canons. The interior of these temples is a perpetual feast and a delight to the eye, in spite of their sometimes cloying richness, and reminds one rather of the highest accomplishments of a jeweller or of a filigree-maker than of a sculptor or architect. Not only is the inside of these Jain temples, their arches being some of the most graceful and exquisite in the world, such as to charm an on-looker, but their exterior appearance also leaves a delightful impression. Another beauty of Jain architecture is their artistic grouping of temples on holy hills and the perfect place they assume in the lap of Mother Nature—a true monument and architectural symbolism of the silent, deep, meditative spirit of the Tirthamkars—“Ahimsa.” No one can easily forget the impression that Satrunjaya makes on him. The holy hill is ascended in the morning with a pure body and a pure mind. No food is permitted to be cooked on the hill, no noise, no turmoil, and one should not sleep on the holy hill, nor take a horse or a pony. There amidst its forest of temples a calm prevails and a peace which one can experience in no other place of worship. The temples of Ranpur also form a striking group, and the same may be said to a limited extent of other holy hills of the Jainas. One wonders whether the Hindus borrowed this beautiful grouping of their temples with such exquisite effect amid the cocoa-nut palms and other trees,—as so successfully achieved at Madura, Chidambaram, Conjeveram, Srirangam, and many another temple city of South India, as well as at Benares, Mathura, and Bhuvaneswar,—from the Jains or the Jains from them.

Their co-religionists of the South produced some of their finest buildings in Mysore and South Canara, and chiselled out the huge Tirthamkara statues, as those of Sravana Belgola, Karikala, Yenur, and many another place, which, even to-day, strike one with awe and wonder at the deep, imperturbable calm majesty of these figures, the loftiest of which, the Gomateswara statue, stands to a sheer height of 58 feet—a greater proclamation of the Jain faith than anything else. Their dipadans, or light-carrying pillars, among which may be mentioned those at Mudabidri and Yenur, are graceful and lovely in the extreme, and form an ornament to the skies of South Canara.

The Hindus of Mysore, not to be outdone by this neighbouring Jain activity, produced some of the gems which are even to-day the pride of Mysore—the temples of Halebid, Belur, Somnathpur, Sringeri, Nuggehalli, and Devanhalli—and adorned them with sculptures which excite the admiration of architects. These triple or double temples, and the sculptures that adorn their plinths, are masterpieces of human ingenuity and patience. Few there are who have not praised the friezes of Halebid and Belur—friezes larger and more ornate than anything else of their kind in the world.

Turning now to greater India, Ceylon, Java, Bali, and Cambodia, we find that their greatest period of building activity, though begun a century or two earlier than the tenth, practically ends with the thirteenth or the fourteenth. The Indian colonists, first Brahmin and then Buddhist, carried with them the South Indian building traditions, and, drawing nurture and inspiration from the same source which had erected a Brihadiswara, “Minakshi” and Nataraja temple, did the same to enrich Polanurawa, Angkor Thom, Angkor Vat, Bayon, and the innumerable temples of Java, Buddhist and Hindu. Inscriptions record that a Chola king of this period gave land to a Buddhist temple, and the connection of Buddhism with South India is too well known to need mention. The Buddhist influence is clearly trace-

able even in some of the ancient Tamil classics like the *Manimekhalai* (mentioned often in the *Jatakas* as the goddess of the ocean) and the *Silappadikaram*. From South India hailed many a Buddhist teacher, adventurous enough to leave a mark even on China and Burma.

The pagodas of Angkor Thom, Angkor Vat, Bayon, and others in Cambodia, are purely Brahmanic, and have not yet been fully investigated ; still, enough has been done to give us an idea of what they look like. The walls of some of these are the story-books of Hinduism, and depict the chief episodes of the *Ramayana* and other Hindu works belonging to the *Itihasa-Purana* group ; though many of the sculptures have, as usual, become the prey of European rapacity and enrich the various Continental collections, still we think enough may still be left for a proper study. The peculiarity of these sculptures is that they are the only specimens of Hindu achievement in sunk relief sculpture—an art which was rarely practised in the Mother Country. In Java Buddhist architecture claims our attention equally with the Brahmanic, and the temples of Boro Budur, Parambanam, as well as the numerous fanes of the Durig Plateau, were finished before the fourteenth century. Not only is this island rich in architecture, but some of its sculptures are exquisite. From here, as well as from Ceylon, building traditions were carried out to Burma and Pagan, and gave rise to some of the splendid pagodas there, as that of Shwe-dagon. In this, as in everything else, the Tamils played a considerable part. In the early centuries of the Christian era their ships reached “*Chavakkam*” (the name for Java in Tamil) and many another island in the Pacific, and Tamil literature is replete with allusions to distant sea voyages. The ships of Rajaraja the Great threatened Burma, Pegu, Ceylon, and most of the islands of the Indian Ocean, and planted pillars of victory in these foreign lands. Kashmir escaped the violence of the Islamic cyclone till the fifteenth century, and developed an architecture of its own and began to erect buildings in an indigenous style,

which was a product of the Greco-Roman and Perso-Indian influence of the frontier. The best example of this style, to which the name of Indo-Doric has been given by some scholars, is the ruins of the temple of Martanda. Nepal, however, continued to escape the storm till the last, and consequently developed an architecture mostly of wood, the most important examples being scattered throughout the valley, as at Khat-mandu, Bhatgaon, Pasupati, etc. It has been remarked by many an observer that Nepal contains more shrines than houses, and that the valley is the only place in India, except Malabar and some portions of Travancore, where the Hindu culture is found without admiration of Islam, and hence no wonder that the building material of the extreme South as well as of the extreme North should be chiefly of wood and their architectural styles have so much in common.

Buddhism, banished from the rest of India, finds here its last resting-place, and has a bitter struggle to maintain itself from being swallowed by aggressive Hinduism in its Tantric Shakti form, and mirrors to one the days before Sankara began his religious campaigns. The religion of the enlightened one, though now it has only a few followers in the land of its birth, still is the religion of most of the Singalese in the neighbouring island of Ceylon, of the Burmese, Cambodians, Chinese, Mongolians, and Japanese, and Tibetans, and, in fact, of more than two-thirds of the population of Asia, to whom it brought not only the forms of this Hinduistic faith, but also Indian cultivation, culture, and traditions. Jainism, which was once supreme in the South of India, and produced the earliest works of the Tamil and Canarese literatures, and was enthroned at Madura, Tinneveli, and Kanchi, was forced to retreat to Mysore and Canara, permitting its temples to be converted into Saiva shrines. Even here it is fast losing ground, through the aggressive onslaughts of the militant faiths. However, in Guzerat and Rajputana it continues a very glorious and useful period of building and charitable activities. Thus we

see that of all the forms of Hinduistic faith Brahmanism or Hinduism, especially in its Puranic form, became the dominant religion of India—a faith which through the vigorous onslaughts of a Kumarila and a Sankara, not only established its Sannyasis and Maths at Kumbakonum, Madura, Dvaraka, and Brindavan, but also perched them on the heights of the Himalayas at Badarinath and Kedaranath and influenced the thought of Benares, Mathura, and Kashmir. In the South Tirujnana Sambandar expelled the Jains from Madura, and the religious Chola rulers, following the cue, dedicated villages in Ceylon and in Burma to maintain the Saiva temple at Tanjore, not disdaining even to extend their spite to Vaishnavism, many of whose temples they converted into Saiva shrines, the character which they still retain to-day, and consigning the idols found there to the sea, sarcastically remarking that, since the birthplace of Vishnu was the sea, he would be far happier there than on land.

While such was the state of things in the North, in the South one Hindu power had risen and been shattered on the banks of the Tungabhadra, and another was rearing its head, like a forest conflagration, on the Sahyadri hills. The Empire of Vijayanar, during its brief period of power, took up the building traditions of the Chola period, and its viceroys in the different provinces worthily added to the already existing fanes at Tanjore, Chidanbaram, Madura, Tinnevely, Kanchi, and many another South Indian temple city. They endowed afresh the revenues of the already existing temples, as the Brihadiswara at Tanjore, Minakshi at Madura, and Nataraja at Chidambaram; Srirangam and Kumbhakonam owed some of their additions to the patronage of these monarchs or their viceroys, and so did Jambukeswaram, Rameswaram, and others. But the chief building activity centred in Madura, the capital of the Pandyan kingdom, and here Tirumal Nayak erected his palace and choultry, and probably added a Mandapam or two to the temple. At Rameswaram their work was

seconded and continued by the Setupati rajas, and later on by the Nettukottai Chettis, who are still the greatest patrons of building in South India. Every South Indian shrine grew up by degrees, and even to-day additions are being made, or old parts replaced or built over; so much so that it is not possible to give definite dates without running great risks. They all grew up from a central shrine, now generally the Garbha-griha of the chief idol, and received additions gradually. The major ones contain, besides the principal shrine, several other less important ones, each with a small Gopuram or Vimana of its own, and contain at least two Prakaras, or procession paths, lotus tanks, mandapas for the housing of temple paraphernalia, as well as for dancing or recitals, or special autumnal or spring festivals, a Mulasthan where the original deity stays, an outer shrine where the Utsava Vighraha or the processional deity stays, two or three more outer enclosures, and at the end the dhvajastambha, or flagstaff, and beyond it the entrance gateways surmounted by huge Gopurams. Beyond the Gopuram there are what are called Asthana Mandapas, and generally the smaller temples have their lotus tanks. Inside the outer wall several have Mandapas, covered and running through at least a part of the way where pilgrims may rest or be fed during the temple feasts. Such is, in short, the description of a Southern temple, of which there are three kinds—major, middle, and minor.

If the temples of Madura and Jambukeswaram contain the most graceful lotus tanks, the temple city of Srirangam has the biggest and the largest number of Prakaras. Rameswaram and Chidambaram have the most graceful and the largest halls. In particular that at Rameswaram is the largest hall in the world, and strikes one with awe at the amount of human labour and love expended upon it. The temples of Tinnevely, Tadpatri, Vellore, Tenkasi, and Burmadesam belong to the middle class, and most of these are complete without the tank, which is a feature only of the Tinnevely temple. This form of temple construction

did not stop with South India alone, but was carried also to Northern India, where one finds the best effects produced by a combination of the North Indian and South Indian style, as at Brindavan, whose present Swami hails from Srirangam. Tirupati and Vijayanagaram also borrowed this style, and the miscalled Chalukyan was only a modification of it. At the remains of Hampi or Vijayanagaram only a cursory glance is possible, as it deserves in itself a monograph. The descriptions of Nuniz and Paes tell us it must have been one of the grandest and richest cities of the East ; but of this the chief remains now are only the Vitthalaswami's temple, the Garden Pavilion Council Hall, and the elephant stables. It only remains now to add that besides these temples the Rajputs and the Marathas built many beautiful palaces, as well as some graceful bridges, embankments, and lakes. Especially the Rajputs had a most artistic eye, not only for architecture, but also for Nature, and erected their palaces either in the midst of an artificial lake or other sheet of water, or at least with a water front. In this respect Udaipur, the last stronghold of Hinduism—a house which boasts of never having given its daughters to the Mughals—the house which has made the name of Indian womanhood live for all time—the place adorned by a Padmini and other great daughters of India, justly boasts of having the most beautiful buildings. The Jagan Mandir, in the midst of the lake, the palace of Udaipur, the temple of Ekalingi, the Chattris, the Mahasatis, the tower of victory at Chitor, and other buildings, were due to this royal house. Besides Udaipur Jodhpur, Dig, Datia, Gwalior, and Mysore, have their palaces as well as their private buildings of extraordinary beauty, several of them erected quite recently. So we find that sculpture and architecture is still a living, though fast dying, art in India, and seems to survive in the South at least, in spite of the Public Works Department. The recent additions to the Rameswaram, Chidambaram, and Tiruchundoor temples, and the erection of new temples, as at Kaladi

and Sringeri, show that the master architects of the South, like their brothers of the North, know their business and the requirements of their country and climate far better than the architect who refuses to understand the needs of a tropical climate, or of a conservative people, but goes on building triumphantly practically flat structures, or monstrosities. Instances can be picked out, province by province, though one is sufficient to throw light on the matter. Let us take the High Court of Judicature at Madras and the Presidency College. The former owed its inspiration chiefly to an Indian master-builder, and the latter, the Presidency College, to the æsthetics of the Public Works Department. What a contrast! The High Court is an ornament as viewed from the beach, and a thing of beauty, with its light rotating and flashing, and its domes scintillating against a glorious tropical sky, and the Presidency College—the less said about it the better.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, April 24, 1922, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, when a paper was read by K. N. Sitaram, Esq., entitled "Some Aspects of Indian Architecture, chiefly Hinduistic." F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A., PH.D. (Librarian of the India Office) was in the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., and Lady Barrow, Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., and Lady Jacob, Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Colonel Warden, Colonel Dantra, I.M.R. (retired), Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. R. Sewell, Colonel Lowry, Mr. and Mrs. G. D. Robertson, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Rev. W. Stanton, D.D., Mrs. Drury, Mr. Walmsley, Captain Skeeles, Mr. V. R. Ranganathan, Mr. Salmon, Miss Bate, Mrs. W. G. Mantler, Miss Wiseman, Miss R. Powell, Miss Nina Corner, Mr. I. N. Thakore, Mr. Mubarik Ali, Miss Chomley, Mr. F. W. Westbrook, Major Gibbertson, Mrs. Meyer, Mr. and Mrs. Giles, Mrs. Rowley, Mrs. Drakoules, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it is my privilege to introduce to you the lecturer, Mr. K. N. Sitaram. Perhaps Mr. Sitaram hardly needs an introduction, since he has already introduced himself to this Association in an interesting speech which he delivered on the occasion of Mr. Cotton's lecture. However, I may go so far as to mention that Mr. Sitaram is a Tamil Brahmin; and I venture to say that, if he were to give us an account of the manner of his education and bringing-up in all the strictness of the Brahmin doctrine and training, he would be able to provide us with a lecture not less interesting than that which we are hoping to hear this afternoon. Mr. Sitaram's preparation has not been in any respect a narrow one. He has travelled, I believe, practically all over India, and has visited most of the temples and the edifices which he is going to describe and illustrate to us. He has been in England and Europe for a time limited to a comparatively few months, and the manner in which he has absorbed European ways of life and European languages has been rather an eye-opener to those who have witnessed the process. He is the first of his countrymen, I think, who has taken up the subject of Indian architecture in general, and he has many European predecessors in the study of it. But I am sure that he will shed new light

upon it. Without further preface I will call upon him to deliver his lecture, entitled "Some Aspects of Indian Architecture, chiefly Hinduistic." (Applause.)

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, in his paper Mr. Sitaram necessarily covered a very wide area in space and time; in space especially, because we have always to remember that the civilization of India was not confined to India, but, just as there was a Greek sphere which dominated the eastern Mediterranean, just as there was a Roman sphere which dominated the whole of the Mediterranean and the surrounding lands, so there was an Indian sphere of civilization, the influence of which extended far beyond the limits of India. Mr. Sitaram has illustrated this from the architecture of Java, Burma, Siam and Cambodia. He might have given illustrations from a still wider field. He might have shown how the architecture of India influenced in early days the countries of Central Asia, and how it was felt in China, and to a certain extent, perhaps, in Japan and the Malay countries. This is a point which I think we should never lose sight of, that the civilization of India was an extensive thing, the particular effects of which we always may expect to find very widely spread. It is also a very ample extent of time which Mr. Sitaram's paper covers. He tells us that there is evidence of buildings and of skill in architecture going back beyond the Mauryan period. Of this earlier architecture, he informs us, very little remains. Indeed, he mentioned only the rough Cyclopean masonry of the old city of Rajagriha; and, of course, the question to what extent architecture in stone existed in ancient India prior to Asoka has always been a puzzling one. Perhaps some contribution to the solution of this question will be afforded by the continuation of Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxila, which have disclosed a settlement which is probably pre-Asokan. The excavations have shown the foundations of buildings of rough-hewn stone. Of course we have always to reckon with various possibilities. No doubt it was often the case in the oldest architecture of India that just the foundations were of stone and the actual upper structure was of wood and plaster only. If the extent to which architecture in stone existed in early times in India is thus a matter not absolutely free from obscurity, there is no question of the perfection of workmanship with which the surviving remains of the Mauryan period and the architecture associated with the name of Asoka presents us. The polish and finish of the stonework are really marvellous. It is, no doubt, the fact that in all the earliest architecture of India we can trace a strong influence from Persia and Assyria; but, all the same, the perfection which Hindu architecture bears at its very commencement is something extremely striking. It is not possible to follow Mr. Sitaram through the whole of his disquisition and to note points of interest or points of agreement or disagreement. I observe that he demurs strongly to the recognition of a Chalukyan style of architecture, and he is determined, like a patriotic Dravidian,

to claim that it is merely an offshoot of the Dravidian school. How that may be, no doubt, experts will discuss; but all of those who have had opportunities of seeing the architecture of Western India, more especially in Mysore, will agree that the prize is worth contending for, since of all the works of Hindu architecture this is the triumph and the greatest achievement. I shall leave Mr. Sitaram to settle the question with the experts. I am somewhat interested in Mr. Sitaram's attitude to his subject, and I should like to obtain a little further illumination on that point. To most of us nowadays art is a matter of intellectual interest, and æsthetic is identical more or less with the study of the beautiful; but at the same time there is a not universal limitation. It is quite possible æsthetically to deal also with the ugly, with the curious, with the artificial, with the interesting, and a great number of other ideas belonging to the same domain. I should like to ask Mr. Sitaram whether the question which he asks himself in the presence of a Hindu temple is, Is it beautiful or not? and I should like to hear the opinions of speakers on this occasion as to whether Hindu architecture presents itself to them as beautiful, or whether some other attribute would more aptly express their sentiments towards it. Of course there are differences of opinion. On my way to India in the course of a recent visit I met an enthusiast for Muhammadan architecture, who was quite firm in the view that Hindu architecture did not exist. He said the Hindus are quite skilled in putting stones on stones, but there is no construction in it, there is no idea. This gentleman was engaged in the profession of architecture, and he was quite firm in his opinion. At the same time I did not assent to that myself, and I have subsequently met people who hold that the Muhammadan architecture of India, with the exception of certain pieces which cannot be denied, is not in the front rank of the representation of Islamic architecture in the world, and that in India, if you wish to be in contact with real architecture and the real spirit of architecture, you must devote your attention in the first place to the Hindu art. I should like to ask Mr. Sitaram what is his attitude to the great temples, let us say, of his own Tamil country. Does he regard them from the æsthetic point of view? Does he ask himself whether they are objects of successful artistic creation, or has he a different feeling towards them? I myself will confess that I could not help but be impressed by the spectacle of those aspiring gopurams rising into the blue skies of south India amidst the palm groves and so on; all that I found extremely impressive. Then, of course, when we turn to the architecture in detail, when we turn to the marvels of sculpture and decoration, we cannot withhold our unqualified astonishment and admiration for the achievements of the Hindus. There is something in the saying that the Hindus approach the subject of architecture and work in stone partly in the spirit of jewellers. However, one feels that that cannot be the real explanation, and one asks oneself whether at all times we sufficiently realize what the purposes are that are served by a temple in India, just as by

the temples in ancient Greece and Rome. We should always remember that the temple plays a great part in the life of the people. It is not coldly shut off from their daily existence. It performs the duty not only of a place of worship, but also of a place of meeting and a museum, a place where the people go to become acquainted with the legends and the history of their country. I feel that in view of this fact we can realize more completely what is meant by this magnificent variety and complication of sculpture and carved scenery in the temples; and I shall be grateful to Mr. Sitaram if he can convey to us a sense of the feeling which is entertained in regard, let us say, to the great temples of Chidambaram and Tanjore by those who live in the immediate shadow of them. There is one other point where I should like to raise some little demur to what was said by Mr. Sitaram, and which I daresay has been in the minds of more than one of you. Mr. Sitaram appears to have his knife into the Public Works Department. No doubt the Public Works Department has not been impeccable in either the destructive part of its operations in connection with the Indian temples or in the constructive part. But, although I had no brief for that department, I cannot help thinking that Mr. Sitaram ascribes far too much to the influence of the department when he compares it with the depredations of the Indian sun and rain, or when he puts it on a level with those inroads of the Muhammadans which, for instance, turned the town and fort of Deogiri into the Muhammadan stronghold of Daulatabad, in which every temple had been demolished to provide materials for mosques and other edifices. I cannot think that the Public Works Department can ever have done anything compared to what was done in the fifth century by the Hun invaders, whose brief activity is attested by great areas of ruins, where immense quantities of broken statues and other débris are revealed by a slight disturbance of the soil; and I think he will admit that in some places the major part of the devastations effected was due, not to any department of the Government, but to the volunteer efforts of the people in connection with the construction of new temples, houses, and buildings of every kind. I am sure we shall be grateful if those persons who are interested in the subject, or have experience of India and are acquainted with Indian architecture will give us the benefit of their impressions. I myself shall especially welcome impressions relating to the æsthetic aspect of Indian art and to the emotional attitude which the people bear towards the monuments of their religion. (Applause.)

Mr. R. SEWELL said that it was a pity that accusations of vandalism should be launched against British administrators without due proof in support. He was personally in a position to contradict several of the assertions and innuendoes made by the lecturer; but as time was limited he would only at present refer to one of these—namely, the charge that the Collector of the Bellary District had destroyed the stone car at Vijayanagar. He himself (the speaker) was the Collector in question, and so far from destroying the car he

had done his utmost, with the assistance of the District Engineer, to save it. When visiting Vijayanagar about thirty years ago, in company with that officer, he noticed that the stone framework of the car was disintegrating and cracking in all directions, partly owing to centuries of weathering and the neglect of the local Brahmins and Hindu authorities to attend to it, and partly because it seemed that the recent addition of a brick superstructure, carried out by way of restoration by the Archaeological Department, was more than the enfeebled framework could hold up. Permission being obtained from Government, the engineer, a highly experienced officer of long standing, removed the newly-added superstructure, and by careful underpinning and the use of metal ties saved, for a time at least, the body of the car from destruction. If the car had since fallen to pieces, the misfortune was due simply to natural decay. Mr. Sewell asked whether any sensible person could call him a vandal for his action in the matter.

In answer to Mr. Sewell, the lecturer said that the car at Vijayanagar was not now in existence.

Mr. RICE did not think Mr. Sewell could have been Collector at Vijayanagar when the stone car was removed, because he (Mr. Rice) was Collector there in 1903, at which time it was in perfect order. Referring to the Chairman's question as to whether the temples of India struck one as being interesting or beautiful, one had to remember, in dealing with an oriental nation like India, their æsthetic ideas were totally different from those of Englishmen, and one must first of all try to put oneself in the place of the Indian. The same thing was true with regard to music; to him Western music was entrancing, and to a certain extent he was able to appreciate Indian music. The same thing was true of the Indians. Indian music was entrancing to them, and when they took the trouble they were able to appreciate European music to a certain extent. In like manner the European had to educate himself into an atmosphere of Indian architecture. Referring to the difference between Muhammadan and Hindu architecture, he thought the reason why the chairman's friend was so much impressed with the Muhammadan architecture as compared with the Hindu was because he was more familiar with the Muhammadan style of architecture. For instance, he might have travelled in Europe and seen the Moorish architecture in the Alhambra near Granada, or in the cathedral of Cordova and in similar structures which were to be found in Spain. There was nothing that he knew of in Europe like the Hindu architecture, but with the Taj one was more or less familiar, in the same way that one was familiar with the Gothic style in England. It was difficult for an Englishman to approach the subject from an entirely impartial point of view. (Applause.)

Mr. G. D. ROBERTSON thought the domestic architecture was as important as temple architecture. They admired temples and churches, but desired a comfortable fireside. The lecturer had said

nothing about domestic architecture. He (the speaker) had travelled in India for thirty-five years, most of his experience being in the Punjab and on the western frontier. There were some excellent buildings there. The lecturer had said that the buildings of India had been spoiled by foreigners, but the buildings in the north of India which attracted the admiration of all had been put up by foreigners. When travelling in the Punjab he had seen houses, particularly in the villages, in which the people spent their lives, which were not fit to live in.

Mr. THAKORE said that in connection with vandalism the use of ancient buildings for courts, etc., turning them into a hideous mixture of old and new, had ceased after 1900. He also said that it was no compliment to the British to compare favourably with the Muhammadan vandalism about 1100 A.D.

Regarding domestic architecture, he said that the houses, except where poverty prevented, were essentially hygienically constructed. Hindu architecture was beautiful also.

The LECTURER, referring to the question of the beauty or otherwise of Indian buildings, pointed out that Indian architecture appealed to an Indian just as Western architecture appealed to an Englishman; it was the product of the country, and it reflected the spirit and genius of the race. Hindu and Mussulman architecture must necessarily be different from Western architecture. In Western architecture the idea was to bring in light and exclude cold, whereas Eastern architecture was designed to shut out light and bring in coolness, so that the principles governing the two kinds of architecture were different. With regard to the Public Works Department, they had not created a single beautiful building in the view not only of himself, but some Englishmen as well. He had not dealt with the question of domestic architecture in his paper owing to the length of time it would have occupied.

Mr. RICE proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the chairman and lecturer, which was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

INDIA IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: WHAT SHE GAINS

BY SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

IF asked what is the conspicuous event which has made the year 1919 a great landmark in the constitutional history of India, most people will naturally reply that it was the passing of the Government of India Act, which laid the foundations of responsible government in India, and substituted for an essentially autocratic, if paternal, system of government the beginnings of a democratic system based, though still only partly and subject to many restrictions and safeguards, on the responsibility of Indian ministers to elective legislatures consisting mainly of Indians. On the merits or demerits of that momentous statute I do not propose to dwell. I only wish to point out that, whether wise or unwise, it merely gave effect in the sphere of Indian governance and administration to the profound change which had been introduced earlier in the same year into the constitutional relationship of India to the rest of the Empire, when she was admitted to sign on her own behalf the Peace Treaty of Versailles, and became an original member of the League of Nations under the Covenant embodied in that Treaty. The status of India until then had been merely one of dependency—a great dependency, no doubt, but still only a dependency of the Empire. At Versailles she was formally lifted out of that status into a new status of partnership, which placed her on the same level as all the other nations of the British Empire who affixed their signatures to the Peace Treaty, and became original members of the League of Nations. This change had been already foreshadowed during the war when in

recognition of her great war services India had been for the first time drawn into the inner councils of the Empire, and represented not only by the Secretary of State, but by distinguished Indians who took their seats at both the Imperial War Conferences held in London side by side with British ministers and with the prime ministers of the self-governing Dominions. It had been foreshadowed also in the famous declaration of August 20, 1917, in which it was laid down on behalf of His Majesty's Government, that the purpose of British policy in India is "the progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." But it was at Versailles—not merely in a British Act of Parliament which after all only has force of law within the Empire, but in an international treaty no less binding on all the other signatory Powers than on the British signatories—that the recognition of India's new status in the Empire was placed for the first time on record *urbi et orbi*, and in no way more formally and solemnly than by her enrolment as an original member of the League of Nations.

From this point of view alone the position of India as a member of the League deserves, I think, more attention than it has generally received. But equally deserving of attention seem to me to be the part which India has actually played in the activities of the League and the reaction of those activities upon India herself. Both have been far more important and beneficial than the general public, either at home or in India, has probably hitherto realized, and it seemed to me that at a time when a certain sense of disappointment has for various reasons succeeded to the perhaps over-sanguine hopes originally based all over the world on the creation of the League, and also in a narrower field, on the enactment of India's new constitutional charter, it might be useful to show that, in connection at least with the subject I am putting before you this afternoon, there is no reason whatever for discouragement.

The League of Nations, as you know, created during the

Paris Peace Conference, was composed originally of all the powers allied or associated in the Great War, the United States alone having ultimately held aloof from it, as the American Congress declined to ratify the Treaty of Versailles in which its covenant was enshrined. Many of the Powers that remained neutral during the war have since then joined it, as well as two of the ex-enemy Powers, Austria and Bulgaria, and the admission of the other ex-enemy Powers, and even of Soviet Russia, is probably only a question of time and expediency. As at present constituted, the League consists of a Council and an Assembly, and it has a permanent Secretariat. Its seat is at Geneva. The constitution of the League has no analogy in ordinary constitutional law. It is equally impossible to consider the Council as an upper and the Assembly as a lower chamber, or the former as invested with the executive power and the latter with the legislative. Under its covenant the League exerts its action through the instrumentality of both the Council and the Assembly, though their respective rights and duties were on some points left vague, and still are. On the Council, which is the smaller body, Great Britain represents the British Empire. India and the self-governing Dominions have their separate representation in the Assembly which for the time being meets yearly. Two sessions have been hitherto held, in the autumn of 1920 and 1921 respectively, and I hope you will agree with me that the share taken by the representatives of India on both occasions in the proceedings of the Assembly, and the impression which they have produced upon their colleagues of other countries, have fully vindicated India's title to membership of the League.

Our Indian Empire, I need hardly remind you, is composed of two very distinct parts, the larger part under direct British administration, the lesser, but still very considerable, part with nearly one-third of the whole area, and more than one-quarter of the whole population, consisting of native States enjoying, in varying degrees, an

always large measure of autonomy under their own hereditary rulers, who are feudatories of the British Crown, and whose relations of rights and duties with the Supreme Government of India are based upon treaties and engagements in many cases more than a century old. In the two sessions of the Assembly of the League the Government of India was on both occasions represented by Sir William Meyer, its High Commissioner in London; the native States on the first occasion by the Maharajah of Nawanagar, probably best known to the British public as the great cricketer, their beloved Ranji, and on the second occasion by the Maharao of Kutch; and British India on the first occasion by Sir Ali Imam, at one time a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and on the second occasion by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, probably one of the most remarkable, and certainly one of the most respected, of Hindus, now a member of the Council of State at Delhi, and a representative of India last summer at the Imperial Conference in London and, last winter, at the great Washington Conference. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, I may add, has succeeded the late Mr. Gokhale, for many years the leader of Indian sober and progressive opinion, as the head of the Society of "Servants of India"—a society founded about twenty years ago by Mr. Gokhale for the promotion of the social and moral, as well as political, advancement of the peoples of India, whose members are pledged to devote to that cause not only all their energies, but the whole of their private income, and all the public emoluments they may receive, beyond a modest allowance for their own subsistence and for the maintenance of their families. In London and in Washington, as well as in Geneva, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's dignity of bearing, his thorough mastery of our language, his rare eloquence and elevation of thought, combined with modesty and self-restraint, showed to Englishmen and to foreigners what India at her best is capable of producing. He had unique opportunities, and he rose to them.

The great work of the first Assembly of the League was the final establishment of the permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague. It had also to fix its own rules of procedure, and to define the relations between itself and the Council. It set on foot machinery for obtaining amendments to the Covenant of the League, where these might be found necessary ; it expressed weighty views as to the limitation of expenditure on armaments, and it pointed the way to the restoration of real peace in the world by the admission to the League, with the general assent of the British Empire delegations, of two ex-enemies, Austria and Bulgaria ; lastly, but not least, it took some measures for the introduction of economy and method in the expenses of the League itself. In all these important questions the Indian Delegation took a worthy and, in some cases, as, for instance, in advocating economy, a leading part. The Indian representatives have borne witness to the cordial relations and, indeed, complete unanimity of views which prevailed amongst them, and though they failed to obtain an immediate assent to their appeal for India's representation as a great industrial Power on the governing body of the Labour organization, they attracted universal attention to the danger of an undue predominance of European representation in a body which deals with matters affecting the world at large, and not least the Eastern world, at a time when it is being rapidly drawn into the great world stream of industrial competition. In 1921 the League rendered to the cause of peace an invaluable service which has not, I think, yet received anything like the recognition it deserves. I allude to the settlement of the Silesian Question, which the Governments of the Allied Powers, confronted with the menace of the gravest disturbances, and even of armed conflicts in Silesia, owing to their own failure to arrive at an agreement, were finally driven to refer, however reluctantly, to the Council of the League of Nations. The solution at which the Council arrived was bitterly and most unfairly criticized at

the time, even in this country, but it has been fully justified by the event. The Governments of the Allied Powers had agreed in advance to accept the recommendations of the League. They were carried out on the spot with little real difficulty, and the settlement has worked satisfactorily and established peace where there was no peace before until the League was called in aid. The Assembly, working on parallel lines with the Conference at Washington, renewed its plea for the reduction of armaments, placing itself thus in line with the great American people, whose refusal so far to join the League has, unfortunately, so seriously curtailed the prestige and authority of the Society of Nations. Whilst it was unable to follow up Dr. Nansen's request for Government credits for the alleviation of famine in Russia, it gave its fullest support and sympathy to his appeal to philanthropic generosity. The Indian Delegation continued its crusade in favour of economy, and obtained the adoption of a proposal which it had made unsuccessfully in the preceding year for an outside committee of control over the estimates and accounts of the Secretariat and the International Labour Bureau.

But it was on a question closely affecting the interests and sentiment of India—viz., the treatment of Indians outside India, and especially in other parts of the Empire—that Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's intervention produced the deepest impression. His opportunity came with a discussion in regard to the administration of the mandatory territories. The Powers that had received mandates and had been charged with their execution on behalf of the League were, he said, quoting the language used in another part of the Covenant, "duly instructed to regard the liberties of their subjects as a sacred trust of civilization." But he was alarmed at certain indications of a tendency, already made manifest in some of their Dominions, to introduce a colour-bar, to make invidious distinctions between white and coloured races, and even to subject coloured populations within their areas to deplorable hardships and even

indignities. He was anxious, therefore, to take time by the forelock, and to request these mandatory Powers to discharge the trust committed to them with discretion, and with a due regard to its sacred character. He appealed in particular to his friend, Lord Robert Cecil, and his distinguished colleagues in the representation of South Africa on the League, so to use their undoubted moral authority and influence that neither he nor his successor in the representation of India, nor Japan, the Asiatic Power permanently represented in the Council of the League, should ever find it necessary to come on to that platform and tell the Assembly that Asiatics were worse off under the trustees of the League than under the Germans themselves, who had, at least, never proclaimed a colour-bar, or imported invidious racial distinctions into their colonial laws and regulations. This was a courageous and dignified appeal to which the members of an assembly recruited from nearly all parts of the world could not remain indifferent. It was at the same time a reminder to ourselves, and to all other parts of the British Empire, that, if we should ever be faithless to our duties in this respect towards India, she is now, as a member of the League of Nations, in a position to lay her case before a great tribunal whose moral authority neither the Imperial Government nor the Governments of the self-governing Dominions can afford to disregard.

I have dealt so far with the great and dignified part that India has played within the League of Nations. I will now say a few words about the reaction of the League of Nations upon India herself. This has made itself felt most conspicuously and usefully in the sphere of Labour, and at a particularly important juncture for India. Labour, in the sense in which we generally use the word in this country, is a force that has only come into existence in relatively quite recent times, for only in quite recent times has the introduction of great modern industries, and especially the rapid development of a great cotton industry, led to the concentration in the principal centres of large bodies of

industrial population. Until then agriculture was practically the only great Indian industry, and it is upon the abundance of agricultural labour that the modern manufacturing industries have drawn for the labour that they in turn require. To the present day the industrial workers in the cities are for the most part primarily agricultural labourers, attracted by the prospect of more lucrative employment from their own more or less distant countryside, where at certain seasons of the year there is little work to be done on the land. It became the custom for rural districts to send their men into the towns, where they work for a few months, going away again after they had put by a little money, and returning once more after they had exhausted their hoard. These migrations became more and more regular, and took place on a larger scale as the demand for labour increased. This is the feature which has hitherto markedly differentiated the problem of Indian labour from that of British labour. There has not yet grown up in India an industrial population permanently rooted in the towns, but Labour has begun to be conscious of its power, and with that consciousness labour troubles in the form with which we are familiar at home—namely, disputes between employers and employed, strikes and lock-outs—have grown ominously frequent. There have been strikes, not only in the big cotton mills and jute mills and other large manufacturing industries, but also amongst postmen, and amongst railwaymen on State, as well as on private owned, lines, amongst tramcar drivers and conductors, and even amongst city scavengers. Lightning strikes without any notice are of growing frequency. Some are short-lived, others very obstinate, dragging on for weeks and months. Some are grotesquely frivolous, others by no means lack justification or excuse. Intimidation, often not unaccompanied by violent assaults on non-strikers, is an ugly feature common to most of them. They sometimes lead to very serious riots and bloodshed. They have played a prominent part in the worst disorders of the last

few years. Nowhere have they assumed at times a more threatening shape than in the Bombay Presidency, for in the cotton mills of Bombay itself and of the Ahmedabad district, which employ over 200,000 hands, are collected the largest agglomerations of factory workers in India.

These new labour troubles may have been caused in part by legitimate discontent with the conditions under which the Indian factory operative has to work and, perhaps, even more to live during his non-working hours, in congested Indian cities. In Bombay, for instance, he lives for the most part in huge overcrowded blocks known as "chawls"—ill-lighted, ill-ventilated, in a foul atmosphere and unspeakable dirt. Vast city improvement schemes are being carried out now by Government, and with the steady increase of wages the amelioration of the conditions in which the working classes will be able to live may be expected to produce greater general contentment. Unfortunately, it is an ominous symptom that labour troubles have so far been scarcely less rife in the best than in the worst conducted factories, and whereas, on the whole, European employers have been more prompt than native employers to recognize their duties in promoting the material welfare of those whom they employ, labour troubles have tended to assume on many occasions a distinctly racial character. In Calcutta, the British jute-mill owners have set a splendid example to Indian employers of labour, and the mill-hands, now largely imported from other provinces, not only work under the best possible conditions of light and air, but are housed in spacious quarters specially built for them, well ventilated and scientifically drained, with playing-fields and elementary schools for the swarms of children, who certainly look healthy and well fed and happy. The Buckingham Mills in Madras are recognized to be, from the same point of view, second to none in the world. In the Taba Steel and Iron Works, at Jamshidpur, and in Mr. Bezonji Dadubhoy's great cotton mills at Nagpur, enlightened Indian captains of industry have not

lagged one whit behind the best European employers of labour. But the most humane and generous employers—whether European or Indian—are as liable as the most grasping and callous to see their workers suddenly carried away by a great wave of unreasoning discontent and passion. Political agitation has undoubtedly found in the discontent of Indian labour a fertile field of exploitation—all the more fertile in that for a long time scarcely any attempts were made to promote any sound organization of labour, which was left at the mercy of astute wire-pullers, who stepped into the breach for their own purposes. Factory legislation, too, it must be admitted, had failed to keep reasonable pace with the growth of industrial labour. Nor was this surprising, for, to quote an extremely interesting article by Sir Ernest Low, formerly a member of the Indian Board of Industries, “on a rural economy resembling that of a mediæval country has been superimposed a modern, highly developed system of transport and commerce, together with large organized industries, which, though much more extensive than in some European countries, are yet relatively of small importance compared to the scores of millions employed in agriculture. The administrative responsibility for all this lay with a Government, still mainly foreign in personnel and principle, which, however profoundly it had affected the ideals and culture of the country, was yet not itself deeply rooted in popular sentiment. The factory legislation in force had been passed in the year 1911, and at that time represented the utmost that public opinion, so far as it was effective, would accept, and perhaps a little more. It did not protect labour engaged in the smallest and, therefore, the least efficient, industries; nor did it apply to mining and transport. The law affecting these said very little about the hours and conditions of labour.”

The Government of India and the Provincial Governments have now taken these matters seriously in hand, and official action has unquestionably received a very powerful

impetus from the proceedings of the Labour Congresses and Conferences already held under the auspices of the League of Nations, and from the admirable work done there by the Indian delegations. At the Washington Labour Conference of 1920 the Government of India was represented by Sir Louis Kershaw, of the India Office, and by Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, now Secretary of the Department of Industries in India; the employers by Sir Alexander Murray, Chairman of the Indian Jute Association, and one of the most liberal and progressive employers of labour in India; and Labour itself by Mr. N. M. Joshi, of the Servants of India Society, to which I have already referred in connection with Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. This Conference covered an immense field, a far larger one than the time at my disposal allows me to explore, and the Indian representatives applied themselves throughout to placing before their colleagues, unfamiliar with Indian conditions, the special bearing of those conditions on the varied problems brought up for discussion.

Before I proceed to explain briefly some of the chief points which affected India in particular, and the difficulties with which the Government of India was confronted in bringing Indian legislation into harmony with them, I may mention that India was represented also at the International Seamen's Conference held in July, 1920, at Genoa, but the proceedings at that Conference need not detain us, as it was fully recognized that the conditions affecting the employment and recruitment of sailors in India were altogether different from those obtaining in other countries.

The recommendations of the Washington Labour Conference were ultimately embodied in Draft Conventions to be submitted by the different delegations to their respective Governments. To bring national legislation as far as possible into harmony with those recommendations was not an easy task for any government, and least of all for the Government of India, confronted with it at the very beginning of the great constitutional change effected by the

Statute of 1919. It was decided in accordance with the democratic principles which formed that Statute to obtain, in the first place, the general approval of the Legislative Assembly, in the form of Parliamentary resolutions. The most important of the Washington recommendations was that which limited the hours of work, in industrial undertakings in India, to sixty in a week. The definition of an industrial undertaking, and an agreement as to the age of children to be lawfully employed in factories, involved also a great extension of Indian factory legislation. The Government of India recognized, too, the desirability of including the smaller factories, in which abuses are most apt to arise, though little information existed as to their number, nature, and situation. Analogous difficulties presented themselves in regard to the Draft Convention dealing with unemployment in a country where labour has constantly to be sought far, and often very far, afield by employers who have even in many cases to provide for its transportation to the factory. Nor has Labour itself, owing to its lack of organization, any machinery for the collection of statistics required by the Convention which in other countries are mainly collected by the Trades Unions. So long as Indian industries draw on the surplus of agriculture for their workers some special form of statistics differing essentially from those obtained in more highly organized countries would therefore be required. In ordinary seasons, moreover, there is no unemployment in India, where the demand in most factories as a rule outruns the supply, whilst in famine years Government has itself to provide employment for numbers which often run into millions, and does provide it under the existing Indian famine codes, economically, efficiently, without pauperization, and, as a matter of course, whenever the need arises. In spite of all these difficulties the Legislative Assembly, on the advice of Government, decided to ratify this Convention as well as the Conventions regarding the employment of women and young persons

during the night, which involved no change in Indian law or practice. With regard to the employment of women before and after childbirth, Government had merely to carry out a resolution of the Conference requesting them to study the questions and to report in the following year. A similar request had been made by the Conference in regard to the minimum age for the employment of children, as to which one great difficulty arises in India out of the imperfect and often deliberately misleading declarations of birth, so that the age of the child desiring employment in a factory can often be determined, and only approximately, by separate medical inspection. Nevertheless, though this Convention was the only one to which any serious objection was taken in the Indian Legislative Assembly, the Government was able to offer ratification with only two very reasonable reservations, and it proposed on its own initiative a very desirable extension of the maximum age for the special protection of children, which had found no mention in the Washington Conventions.

The official report of the International Labour Conference, held last autumn at Geneva, is not yet available, but the proceedings again redounded to the credit of the Indian Delegation, which consisted on this occasion of two Indians, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, who had been one of the delegates in the preceding year at Washington, and Mr. J. N. Gupta, with British advisers, one of them a lady, Miss G. M. Broughton of the Labour Bureau of the Indian Department of Industries. They were able to show that India, conscious of the leeway she had to make up, was prepared to respond to the demands made upon her by the Washington Conventions with a sincerity which has, in fact, put many European countries in the shade. Within the past few weeks both Houses of the Indian Legislature have passed a new Act, which will be known as the Indian Factories Amendment Act, 1922, and marks an immense stride forward in Indian legislation for the protection of labour. India has not even sought to shelter herself behind the flexibility allowed to Eastern countries by the Wash-

ington Conference on account of their peculiar local conditions. It applies to all factories using mechanical power and employing twenty persons or more, and contains authority for its extension to still smaller factories and even to those which do not use mechanical power. Hours of labour for adult workers are reduced from seventy-two to sixty a week, with a maximum of twelve hours in any one day, while for children the maximum is fixed at six hours per day. The legal minimum period of rest for refreshment is increased from half an hour to an hour. Subject to special exemptions (in which cases compensatory rest time must be allowed), Sunday work in factories is forbidden. The minimum age for juvenile employment is raised from nine to twelve as from next July, subject to exception in the cases of children legally employed before the Act comes into force.

Legislation is also impending for the registration and organization of Indian Trades Unions on sound and practical lines. Trades Unions of a sort have grown up rapidly within the last few years, and early in 1921 a Congress, which called itself the first "All-India Trades Unions Congress," met in Bombay, and claimed to represent no less than ninety-two Trades Unions. Most of these unions are, however, at present little more than embryonic. Their spokesmen have not risen to the leadership of labour out of its own ranks by superior industry and knowledge. Their organization has not been a spontaneous growth from within, but artificially promoted from without. The vast majority of unskilled workers are illiterate, and even amongst ordinary skilled labour the level of education is still extremely low. The actual workers are, therefore, quite unable to organize, or even to think out, the simplest labour problems for themselves, and they easily become the dupes and tools of outsiders—frequently lawyers or professional politicians—who are not always disinterested sympathizers, but more often stimulate and exploit grievances which may in themselves be legitimate for purposes which have little to do with the real interests of

labour. When a deputation from the Bombay Congress waited on the Governor, Sir George Lloyd, and in replying to their address he expressed a legitimate desire for fuller information as to the status of these unions, their method of formation, their constitution, their system of ballot and election, and the actual experience in the several trades of those who claim to represent them, that information was not and could not be furnished to him. Impending legislation will, it is hoped, rescue the organization of labour from such unsatisfactory conditions, and place it on a solid basis in order that both employers and employed shall attain to a clear conception of their responsibilities and of their respective rights and duties. It is of special interest to those who believe in the League of Nations to note that the initiative for such legislation was taken by Mr. N. M. Joshi, the member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, who had represented India at Washington, in a resolution moved by him on March 1, 1921, of which the substance was cordially accepted by the Government of India and adopted by the Assembly without a division.

Legislative provision is also to be made for compensation to workmen for injuries received by them in the course of their employment. Such provision is deemed especially necessary in India, where the great majority of working men are still illiterate, and where few of them have the means necessary to institute and carry on suits for damages against their employers for physical injuries sustained in the course of their employment. The best employers, and these include the railway administrations, largely under Government control, have already adopted the practice of paying compensation on such occasions. The definition of the categories of workmen to whom compensatory benefits shall enure, and the scale on which compensation shall be paid, naturally present special difficulties in a country like India, where industrial development is of recent growth, and conditions vary enormously from province to province—many Indian provinces, it must be remembered, having each a population larger than the whole of Great Britain—

but the Government of India, with the full support of the Legislature, is determined to face them courageously and in a spirit of genuine fairness towards Labour. It is proposed, for instance, to throw, for the present at least, the whole cost of compensation upon the employers. Obviously if Labour is to derive the fullest advantage from such legislation, it must have organizations of its own sufficiently powerful on the one hand to secure its benefits for individual workers who might be unable to do so for themselves, and sufficiently responsible to afford a reasonable guarantee to the employers that it shall not be unfairly exploited against them. Thus, from the economic as well as from the political point of view, the encouragement and recognition of strong and efficient Trades Unions is eminently desirable, and it is a striking instance of the spirit of co-operation between Government and Legislature that this problem, too, is being faced with courageous and statesmanlike sympathy for the needs of Labour.

In all these developments, of such vital interest for the material and moral prosperity and for the internal tranquility of India, the influence, direct and indirect, of the League of Nations may, I contend, be clearly traced, and it is satisfactory to note that when, during the recent session of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, Mr. Seshagiri Ayar moved a reduction of the grant towards the expenses of the Secretariat of the League on the ground that the provision of five and a half lakhs of rupees (about £40,000) out of the Indian Exchequer, at a time of great financial stringency, was largely in excess of India's proper share in the administrative expenses of the League, the motion, though not in itself unreasonable, was withdrawn as soon as the Legislature realized that its acceptance would involve India's secession from the League, since the League itself is alone competent to alter the assessments originally made. Even granting that the amount contributed by India is unreasonably high, no Indian will deny that she has had good value for her money. Not only has her membership of the League affirmed and fortified her new

status in the Empire, but her association with its activities has borne valuable proofs in the domain of Indian legislation, and just in those fields in which success could hardly have been achieved without the closer co-operation between Government and Indian public opinion which the Government of India Act of 1919 was intended to secure. There are undeniably many unhealthy features in the present state of India. Let us not, at any rate, give way to undue pessimism, and close our eyes to the more hopeful features. For my own part, I remain what I have been all my life—a confirmed optimist as regards both the future of the world in general and the future of India in particular. Periods of excessive exaltation, such as we not unnaturally passed through immediately after the victorious ending of the Great War, are apt to be followed by periods of undue depression. People rushed at first to the conclusion that the creation of the League of Nations would at once bring the millennium within sight, and in the same way in regard to India it was assumed that so generous a gift as the Constitutional Charter of 1919 would at once allay all her discontents and set her feet on a smooth road towards the appointed goal of responsible Government within the Empire. We were apt to forget the imperfections of human nature which moves only slowly and with many regrettable relapses on the long and often difficult path of predestined progress. Well, if we were too quick to forget them three years ago, we have had plenty to remind us of them since then. But, if our optimism has been chastened, that is no reason for us to plunge into the opposite extreme of despondency. I hope I may have succeeded in convincing you that India, at any rate, has been a distinct gainer by her membership of the League of Nations, and that the influence of the League has contributed largely to some of the best and most progressive legislation which stands to the joint credit of the Government of India and the Indian Legislature under the new dispensation. These may seem to be but small straws, but they point in the right direction.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, May 22, 1922, a paper was read by Sir Valentine Chirol, entitled, "India in the League of Nations: What She Gains." Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., General Chamier, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Lady Barrow, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. K. N. Sitaram, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Drury, Miss Macnaghten, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. M. Maqbool Mahmood, Mr. S. S. Gnana Viran, Miss Thomas, Mr. K. P. Kotval, Mr. G. G. Hope, Mr. Ali Mahomed, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. and Mrs. Khan, Mr. Mubarik Ali, Mr. B. J. Dalal, Miss Fleming, Mr. W. C. Dible, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Colonel F. S. Terry, Mr. G. Inglis, Mr. J. S. Singh, Mr. B. K. Bhagat, Mr. S. B. Singh, Dr. Nundy, Lieut.-Colonel Dantra, I.M.S. (ret'd.), Miss Nina Corner, Mr. Robinson, Mr. A. G. Taylor, Miss Martley, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Miss Price Simpson, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Miss M. Sorabji, Rev. H. Halliwell, Dr. Laurence Fink, Dr. H. J. Augustine, Mr. and Mrs. G. D. Robertson, Mrs. H. George Roberts, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it would be a superfluous formality for me to introduce Sir Valentine Chirol to this or any other audience in England, and I will therefore content myself by asking him to kindly read his paper on "India in the League of Nations." (Applause.)

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: My lord, Sir Valentine Chirol, ladies and gentlemen, I think we shall not misconceive Sir Valentine's purpose in reading to us the most informing paper to which we have just listened in thinking that his object was to interest not only this audience, but in a larger degree to interest India in the League of Nations. There is a need for that, for though India has played her part in the League of Nations, there has not yet been revealed in India that cordial interest in the work of the League that I think we have a right to look for. Sir Valentine has thought that it might be a more convenient and perhaps a more telling way of dealing with that subject, if he presented it to you not by way of a broad view of the aims and operations of the League, but by confining himself to certain concrete matters in which India has been directly interested and helped by it. First of all he reminded us of Mr. Sastri's protest at the Geneva

Assembly of the League of Nations against a tendency to put Indians in mandated territories in an inferior position to other people. We must feel sure that that protest, well warranted as it was, made an impression on the Assembly, and has done a service to India which in due time she will realize. Then, further, and in a larger degree, Sir Valentine has pointed out to us how the League of Nations, acting through the Labour Congress at Washington, has brought about a very notable advance in labour and factory legislation in India. I was wondering in my own mind whether it would be wise to institute comparisons—perhaps it would not—but it did occur to me that through the indirect action of the League of Nations upon Indian factory legislation, Indian industrialism had made a stride almost equal to that which was made in England under the inspiration of Shaftesbury and those who worked with him. You have got industrialism in India; it is of comparatively recent origin. Now that industrialism will benefit from an early stage through the operation of the legislation which has followed the action of the Labour Conference under the League of Nations. Now India, with facts like these before her, cannot long be indifferent to the League and to its operations. It has already profited by them, and the time has come when I think it should show a fuller and more real interest in the League than it has done hitherto. I know that an answer is always ready when we ask: "Why does not India show more interest in the League of Nations?" I have heard the answer and it is something like this: "We admit that the ideal of the League of Nations is a magnificent ideal"—and I think we must all of us feel how fully this beneficent and peace-making and peace-conserving institution is in harmony with the spirit of the Indian peoples at large. They are not a warlike people as a whole; their tendencies are towards peace and goodwill amongst nations. The ideals of the League of Nations are essentially the ideals of the people of India. It has been said "though the ideal is in consonance with our ideas, the time has not yet come for India to make a definite stand at the side of the League of Nations, because India is not yet a self-governing country." Now that argument is founded upon the assumption that during all these years the status of India has not advanced. A greater mistake could not be made. Well, the briefest reference was made by Sir Valentine Chirol to the great constitutional changes which have taken place in India recently. But I wish to point out that in her external relations also the status of India has been raised in a wonderful degree. For instance in the fact that India now enjoys fiscal autonomy—a policy which, in his presence, I should like to say that Sir Valentine Chirol was one of the first men of standing to put prominently forward—in the grant to her of fiscal autonomy her international status has enormously advanced. That has made a change in her status which a few years ago we should never have dreamed of. Now let me quote to you a letter recently published in India by a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, which was written to the present Finance Member:

"There seems to be some uncertainty in this country about Mr. Dadiba Dalal's exact position at the Genoa Conference, and I should be much

obliged if you could give me any information on the subject. Is his status merely that of an adviser, or is he a full representative with same powers as those of other representatives?" And the answer comes: "In reply to your note of to-day I write to say that Mr. Dalal's position at Genoa is the same as that of the Dominion representatives in all respects."

Now we can gather from that what the status of India is, and you must be satisfied and proud to know—you gentlemen especially who represent India—that that status is going forward in an even greater degree. Now just let me quote further a statement made by Mr. Sastri a few days ago, after he had landed in Bombay, when he spoke of his position at the Washington Conference. He said this:

"You will be interested to know that so far as I could observe, and I observed it with the super-sensitiveness of an Indian, no discrimination was made at any time in any circumstance as between the delegates of the Empire. I was a representative of India in just the same capacity as Sir Robert Borden was of Canada."

Just think of that, ladies and gentlemen from India. Your representative had precisely the same status as the Canadian Prime Minister had.

"India did not suffer one whit amongst the Dominions in the treatment accorded to her. I was present at the confidential discussions of the British Empire Delegation, and I had the same access to all the cables that passed between Washington and London that the Dominion delegates had. In talking to friends like you I run no risk whatever of a vainglorious boast. It could be said, therefore, at the Washington Conference India took her place perfectly on a level with the self-governing Dominions."

Now, it is not there alone that we have evidence of the great change and the great advancement that has taken place in India. One after another of the great Dominion Prime Ministers has said the same thing. If the only objection that our friends in India have to taking up boldly the work of the League of Nations is that India has not the status that the other Dominions have, and therefore she cannot work with them, well, that objection vanishes, and I think we may appeal to you with confidence to-day to do what you can—and I am sure many opportunities will present themselves to you—to arouse the interests of your fellow-countrymen in the work of the League. I was in India recently, and I made enquiries in various directions as to whether men of influence in India would make a spontaneous start in popularizing the idea of the League of Nations. As you all know, in this country we have got a League of Nations Union, the object of which is to familiarize the people of England with the aims and purposes of the League, and we have got some hundreds of branches in this country, and in that way we are putting at the back of the League of Nations a strong body of public opinion, rousing the interest of the people, because after all the League of Nations is to be a people's league, and if the people of India could interest themselves and associate themselves in this matter they would be doing more for their country's status, and more to raise the character and dignity and position of India in the world, than all the movements of which we have heard so much in India in recent years have done. I do hope that this meeting, and all who speak here

will have this message carried to India, and that we may in that way arouse a new interest in the League of Nations. I know from enquiries I have made in India that there are in all parts men of influence and character, and men who command the respect of their people, who value the League and its work, and recognize what it is capable of doing for the world. But I found wherever I went that the political discussions of the time fully occupied the field of public interest, and that for the moment it was hopeless to try to start a movement in India. But the situation, I hope, is changing for the better, and I feel sure that the time is approaching when there will be nothing to stand in the way of that attention being centred upon the League of Nations to which it is entitled. If there are any Indians here who can do anything to forward that work, it would be for their own country's sake—not for ours—that I would urge them to do it. The League of Nations is not merely an English institution and we are not going to send missionaries to India to start a propaganda in the interests of the League. It must be spontaneous and self-generated in India, and I believe that there is latent in that country a feeling of deep interest and sympathy with the aims of the League which will soon show itself.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is all I have to say with regard to the lecture, and I now call upon those who would like to contribute to the discussion to-day to do so, and we should be glad if some Indian gentlemen would take part in the proceedings. (Hear, hear.)

LORD LAMINGTON said that after the lecture, as the Chairman had remarked, they had all a better realization of the part played by India in the various Conferences which had been held, and also how much she owed to the League of Nations for her new status. That appealed to him as much more important than the great administrative changes which were taking place at the moment in India, that she should have won for herself such a recognition. That point had been fully brought out in the paper, as well as by the Chairman.

It seemed to be the common custom to decry the League of Nations as being something which would never serve a useful purpose in bringing the affairs of the world more into harmony, but he personally had never taken that view; it seemed to him to be a wonderful opportunity for the nations to come together. It was not only in regard to Silesia, but there were other instances, such as the Aaland Islands, where matters at one time appeared to present serious difficulties, which had been successfully and harmoniously settled by the League. With regard to the remark that Indians who came under a mandatory system should not be placed in a worse position than when they were under the German Government, he was not sure to what that could refer, except to Tanganyika. He would be sorry to think anything would be done to put them in a worse position than under the German Government. In South-West Africa he had always understood they suffered cruel injustice at the hands of the Germans, although there may have been no colour bar established between them and the white settlers.

The great feature of the paper was that India had definitely established

for herself a recognized status in the eyes of the world, and he hoped the League of Nations would develop so as to justify its existence. He would much rather see the League of Nations as the constituted body to try and establish a working settlement of the world than these many conferences we were constantly having. It was a great pity that, at such a critical time as this, such a representative body as the League of Nations should not have been given a greater field of activity; but, at all events, India would be wise if they were to throw their weight into the question, and see that the matter was dealt with in a proper spirit. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. S. S. G. VIRAN said he wished first of all to thank Sir Valentine Chirol, who had played a very distinguished part in helping to establish the policy of India for the benefit of Indians, and in that way they owed him a great debt of gratitude for the work he had done.

He thought they would like to hear a word or two from him, as he came from South India, and knew a good deal about factory life in Burmah. Rangoon was the largest rice-producing district in the world, and round about Rangoon large numbers of natives were crowded together in factories built by European enterprise and capital upon mud-banks of the rivers which were subject to the tides. It was the white people who had taken the lead in establishing the industries of the country—although in that district, at any rate, the natives had never felt the want of food; yet, nevertheless, Indians, who were chiefly agriculturists, were largely employed in the factories, and had to live crowded together in settlements. To the native Indian, who had always lived a free life, with plenty of room for his cattle to graze, nowadays with English laws as to sanitation, and so on, it had done great harm. . . .

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the question was the League of Nations, and requested the speaker to confine himself to that subject.

Mr. VIRAN, continuing, said the matter was very important, as the people were being crowded into towns, and everywhere the conditions of life were becoming very difficult. He hoped that capitalists, both in England and in India, would see that the factory laws were worked humanely, and that the natives should be made as happy as possible under the circumstances.

With regard to the League of Nations, there was at the back of the Indian's mind always the lurking fear that he would not be treated as an equal in the working out of the conditions and ideas. When they considered the great areas, when they considered that each province had more people than the British Isles—and they had many honest and painstaking patriots who were willing to do all they could for the benefit of India, and who would do the work and shoulder the responsibilities—it would be seen they had plenty of material. Some people in this country thought the scheme would not work. They must not go away with the idea that it was due to want of character or capacity. It was not. They had abundant material in India, and the scheme could be worked. All that was needed at the moment, in his opinion, was patience. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. M. MAHMOOD said it was always difficult to speak when the main

speaker of the evening happened to be such a charming speaker, and when he combined with a charming delivery such wealth of thought. It was particularly so when an Indian had to offer criticisms on the views—not of the author of the "Indian Unrest"—but of the new Sir Valentine who recently contributed those sympathetic letters on India to *The Times*. First of all he wanted to make his own position quite clear with regard to the League of Nations. He did not regard the League as perfect; he fully realized its difficulties and limitations, but, in his opinion, with the present world and its national animosities and self-interests, they could not have anything much better, and he gladly supported the League for what it was, but he enthused over it for what it could and would be. As an Indian he found himself in complete accord with the main thesis of the paper.

The guarantee for disarmament for which the League stood was a god-send for India. As they all knew, one of the greatest problems that confronted India was the question of economizing in public finance. Politics, of course, were useful, but politics alone could not do everything; it could only relieve them from the barriers which stood in the way of development. The real improvement must come from the development of the country. That required money, but it was notorious that in the India of to-day there was no margin of taxation. They had, therefore, to tap those items of public expenditure which may least impair the efficiency of administration. One of their greatest misfortunes, in his opinion, had been that 57 per cent. of Indian public money was given over to military finances. It could be cautiously retrenched. But, he submitted, India could not very well disarm while her neighbours around were loaded. The League, however, stood for disarmament, and therefore as such, for the development of India.

He was grateful to the lecturer for the prominent place he had given to the question of the improvement of the Indian labour conditions. Disarmament alone was not sufficient; they must not only attack the instruments of war, but also the causes of war.

He feared that one of the greatest incentives to internal disorder in the next few years was likely to be the trouble between Capital and Labour. That problem was a legacy of industrial revolution, but in the field of ideas there were neither frontiers nor customs houses; what had been the state of Europe yesterday was the state of India to-day, and but for the League of Nations the Indian labourers would have had to fight the old battle over which it had taken generations for English labourers to fight for themselves. Legislation carried to bring the Indian factory laws in conformity with the Washington, Genoa, and Geneva recommendations spoke for itself.

There was one important point which the League had achieved. As the speaker had pointed out, the delegation to the International Labour Conference was a wonderful composition. Every nation sent three delegates—one from Labour, one from the Employers, and one from the Government. Solidarity of Labour was no doubt a great thing, but this solidarity of Labour, Capital, and Government was something much

greater and finer still, and it was that which India was beginning to achieve. He regarded that as the greatest contribution of the League of Nations. Indians to-day fully realized that India was not the whole world, but was only part of the world, and that Indian struggle for liberty was not an end in itself. They were learning something to-day, and they knew they had something to offer in the future, and it was as members of this great world Commonwealth they sought to equip themselves for what they had to offer. India has had a grand past, but she had a grander future before her.

In conclusion, the lecturer asked why it was there was no great enthusiasm on the part of Indians for the League. As he happened to know Indians, and also knew something of the League, he could only come to the one conclusion, that it was a contempt bred, not of familiarity, but of ignorance. The people did not know enough of the League, and he hoped most of those Indians who had heard the paper read would not be found lacking, when they returned to India, in offering as their contribution all they could do to make known the real objects of the League. But the League had also to move in the matter. It could and should address itself to the solution of the immigration problem. India was a mother country, and the treatment of her children abroad touched her immensely. They must not only think internationally, but they must act internationally as well. (Hear, hear.)

MISS SCATCHERD said she would like to say that it had been a great privilege for her to hear Sir Valentine Chirol, and she had always taken a great interest in what he had written. With regard to the League of Nations, when she first heard of it she made a practice of dividing her friends into two classes : (1) Those belonging to the past, who disapproved of the League, and (2) those belonging to the present, who were in favour of the League. (Hear, hear.)

The text of a letter received from Dr. Pollen is given below :

May 27, 1922.

MY DEAR MISS SCATCHERD,

I feel very sad at not having sent you notes on the two previous papers, but, as you see, I am still unable to write myself. I have just now received Sir Valentine's very able paper, and I feel I must send you a line. It is one of the best and most thoughtful papers ever received by the Association. You know I am one of those who believe that, in spite of Gandhi and his wild, Tolstoyan theories, and mad revival of the *thug* and *pindari*, India is moving on the right lines to redemption, and though there are many unhealthy features in the present state of the land, I am a confirmed optimist, and have not fallen into the slough of despond.

You remember that, with the Aga Khan, I have always advocated the revival of native princes as constitutional sovereigns (on the limited monarchy principles) as being the change the bulk of Indians chiefly desired, and I daresay you remember how I, with an analogous knowledge of Ireland, implored Lloyd George and Mr. Shortt and Mr. Macpherson to save my native land by restoring the five old Irish kingdoms, as Irish

states, on the American plan, instead of dividing the country into *two* religious parts. I pointed out that it was my old friend Sir John Jenkins who first suggested to Lord Hardinge the removal of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi; and how the King subsequently made peace in Bengal by dividing it into three, instead of the Curzonian two. I therefore urged that the proper course in Ireland was to divide it into five (if it was to be divided at all). Had they followed my advice, we might have had peace there now. In India the proper course is to apply Sir Valentine's sound advice to Indian *nationalities*. He is profoundly right in maintaining that the United States of India should be entitled to take their place, as a member of the League of Nations, in the councils of the world. India, at any rate, has been a distinct gainer by her membership of the League of Nations, and I have always maintained that the proper way of dealing with Indians is to treat them as gentlemen and citizens of the world, unless they have shown themselves unworthy.

With kindest regards,

J. POLLEN.

Mr. RICE expressed the great pleasure of the company present at the treat they had had that afternoon in hearing Sir Valentine's paper, and their gratitude to Sir Thomas Bennett for consenting to preside, and also for supplementing the paper with such an interesting address. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The resolution was put to the meeting by the Chairman and carried with acclamation.

The LECTURER said he was extremely grateful at the way in which they had received his paper, and he was also grateful to all the speakers for the interesting remarks they had made. His one great idea was to help forward the valuable work of the League and to make it better known amongst Indians.

The proceedings then terminated.

JAPAN AND THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT

BY A JAPANESE

ALTHOUGH the status of Japan as a nation has become so familiar of late owing to her participation in a series of conferences of world-wide importance as to evoke no comment, her true significance as a nation still appears to remain an unsolved enigma to the average Occidental mind. The foreign observer perceives little more in the Island Empire than a shadowy and picturesque land, both remote and solitary, his imagination failing to pierce through the veil which obscures her intrinsic reality. It is true that there have been exceptions: one must not forget the considerable number of distinguished writers, who, finding in the intimate and personal study of the arts and crafts of ancient Japan a field worthy of their endeavour, have sought to interpret modern Japan to the world through these *media*. Nevertheless, the appreciative efforts on behalf of their Eastern friends of these trained observers have had no far-reaching effect; the general public has gained only a rudimentary acquaintance with the Japan of to-day.

Modern Japan may be said to have become conscious of herself and to have set her foot for the first time on the path of national self-realization, by means of two wars, both waged in defence of her national interests—the first against China, and the second against the mighty Russian Empire. Particularly the latter event was followed by the growth of a feeling which, in an individual, one would describe as the tendency towards self-assertion. A sensibility that national thought and feeling were strengthening the bonds which united a people that had always been patriotic was a natural outcome of those conflicts, and all Japan was later conscious that the part she played in the Great War had conferred upon her the right to claim that foreign recognition of her national prestige which had not hitherto been universally conceded. As a political force Japan's place in the comity of nations has been recognized; but political Japan is not by any means the whole of Japan.

Why is it that Japan can be said to speak with two voices? Why is it that the more emphatic political voice has sometimes awakened antagonism abroad, and the quieter national voice, asking for sympathy and understanding, has failed even to make itself heard? The answer is that political Japan has out-distanced her slower-moving national counterpart in the rush and hurry to assimilate Western political doctrine, while the national expression of Japan, nurtured on centuries of contact with philosophic doctrine and introspection, has been left gasping and inarticulate. She is conscious that she is misunderstood and resents, without being able to explain, the misconceptions and prejudices which still exist, and are openly expressed, in various quarters. Japan is both young and old: young in the participation in the intricacies of international intercourse, but old in her age-long experience of the philosophies of life.

Japan is, however, animated by an ardent desire to acquire knowledge of Occidental conditions. Every year an increasingly large number of her sons are sent forth, both officially and by private enterprise, to study in Western countries such new methods in science, economics, and sociology as may be adapted for the advantage of their country when they return once more. Thus, Japan has been quick to recognize the benefit she has derived, both directly and indirectly, from the European tour undertaken by the Crown Prince Regent last year. The influence of the experiences which the heir to the Throne was able to assimilate in the countries whose lavish hospitality he enjoyed has made itself felt. The Japanese realized that, through him, they had been brought appreciably closer to the Western peoples and they build high hopes on this for the future.

Under these circumstances, nothing more opportune could have been desired by the whole Japanese nation than the recent visit of the Prince of Wales to Japan. From the moment when the rumour of the projected visit was confirmed by the official announcement, Japan was on the tiptoe of expectation. That the visit was timed to coincide with that period of the year when Japan is at her best,

clothed in the vernal splendour of her myriad blossoms, was regarded by all as a happy augury. The cherished hope of the people was that the advent of their Royal visitor, the Crown Prince of that other land which had long stood in such close relations to Japan, would not only strengthen anew the ties of friendship, but would ensure an understanding of the West for the East by the sure process of personal intercourse.

A significant note was struck in the Japanese Press from the outset. A Tokio newspaper, in alluding to the forthcoming visit, concluded its editorial by urging the citizens to depart from the precedent, hitherto strictly observed, of receiving Royalty in respectful silence, and to let their feelings find vent by acclaiming the Prince of Wales in Western fashion. The waving flags, the fluttering handkerchiefs, and the vocal expressions of joy which greeted the Prince, not only on his arrival, but throughout his tour in Japan, were proof that the people eagerly followed the newspapers' lead.

Immediately upon his arrival in Yokohama, on April 12, it was the youth of Japan, as the English newspapers did not fail to remark at the time, which stood in the forefront of the crowds who were waiting to extend an open-armed welcome to the most popular Prince of the Western world. For young Japan it was an epoch-making event: they had heard and read much of the Prince, and regarded him as the embodiment of centuries-old British tradition, and also as a typical modern young man. His magnetic personality did not fail to impress itself immediately upon the receptive minds and the imagination of the youthful beholders, and the psychology of the rising generation in Japan may be greatly affected by this inspiration. School children in the towns, villages, and out-of-the-way corners of Japan who could see him, and who invariably received his gay acknowledgment of their greetings of welcome, will always treasure their memory of the smiling Prince.

As a tribute to the well-known virile and sport-loving tastes of the royal visitor, no opportunity was lost during the tour of arranging that he should participate himself in athletic pastimes, and also witness those particular national

efforts of skill which the Japanese practise. He was an interested spectator at bouts of Ju-jitsu, of wrestling and of fencing, and also watched gymnastic displays by youthful students. It may be that the Prince contrasted in his own mind the Eastern spirit of "Bushido" with the Western prowess of chivalry, and that his thoughts turned to the joust and to the tournament at which his own ancestors excelled. We Japanese hope that he caught glimpses of something of that inner invigorating spirit of emulation which inspired the rivalry of ancient times, and to-day inspires the athletic youth of both East and West.

Is it a vain hope to suggest that the Prince of Wales indeed found during his visit many points of contact between the two Island Empires of East and West? I hope not, because the appreciation which our Royal guest expressed so often surely shows that his first, and for us all too brief, visit to our shores was a source of enjoyment and pleasure to him. He admitted that our ancient capital, the hill-locked and fantastic Kioto, had captured his romantic fancy, and so much so, that his sojourn there was extended beyond the precise limits of the official itinerary. Among other recollections which the Prince may retain are surely those of Mount Fuji of the eternal snows; unforgettable Nikko, with its treasures of Nature and Japanese art; Nara, the last link between old and new Japan; the placid and miniature-like Inland Sea strewn with romantic islets; the weird fantasy of the moonlight fishing with cormorants—all these are Japan, and the Japan we Japanese desire that the Prince may feel that he knows. Japan, on her part, has learnt much from the Prince: she has been able to appreciate at first hand the frank and democratic bearing, the courtesy and charm which the Prince of Wales unconsciously exhibits. The influence of these characteristics has spread like a flash of light, and has awakened a response in Japan's very heart. The Prince has brought the personal touch of the West to the East; he has made her conscious that she has found in him her desire for a symbol to express her national yearnings for understanding and sympathy.

THE WORLD CAMPAIGN AGAINST OPIUM

BY CHAO-HSIN CHU

(Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in London)

THE Advisory Committee on Trade in Opium, which I attended as representative of the Chinese Government, has just met at Geneva, and, to be quite candid, I think the time has arrived when the title of this body should be altered so as to bring it into accord with actuality and the real aim and object of its deliberations. We have long passed the time when opium is the sole or even the chief pre-occupation of the nations of the world. It was so, no doubt, when modern chemistry had not discovered synthetic drugs; but now the Western world is being invaded by products with which the Far East has nothing to do, never had anything to do, nor is likely to have anything to do, unless, like so many other evil things, such as morphia, they are forced on her from the outside.

Now, I am far from deprecating the vital importance of controlling opium production. The world knows, or ought to know, that China has made unparalleled sacrifices to suppress a traffic against which all that is best and wisest in the country has protested with energy, and acted, when opportunity offered, with determination. But I do suggest that manufacture far more than poppy culture is now the peril. Furnished indeed with the reports supplied to me from Peking, I could without difficulty show that much of the criticism of my country's *bona fides* comes from those who are themselves openly concerned in the task of cultivation, but who claim the attribute of moral rectitude because they assert their ability to regulate the uses of what they create while denouncing us for temporary inability to give effect in its entirety to our higher moral code in respect of

absolute suppression. I have, though, no intention to embark on such polemics except to assert that at Geneva I laid it down with what emphasis I possessed that the Chinese Government will not permit interference from without, either in the direction of investigation or suppression, except on lines which are common in potential application to all the nations of the world. In other words, no discrimination must be shown against China, which, let me repeat, has repeatedly shown her *bona fides*.

Attending a conference of this nature would, I fear, soon make one a professed cynic. It is the custom to proclaim that action is above all vital against poppy cultivation because it is so observable, and that in the later stages of the employment of derivatives detection is most difficult. Yet everyone knows that in the West as well as in the Far East the deleterious use of more or less crude opium is becoming rare. People do not bother about it. The derivatives, such as morphia, are easier to handle, easier to take, and far more potent in their effects. Yet it is far less difficult to control the supply of morphia and to check postal smuggling than it is to spy out scattered fields of the poppy. In this matter there is an indulgence in much unctuous humbug, and it would almost seem as if those countries where the denunciation of China for a few possible fields of poppy is the strongest, can, with justice, claim that the morphia industry is most flourishing in their midst. Only of course they do not claim it. They realize it is not "quite the thing" to pose as universal and unrestrained poisoners, yet this they are, because although they may argue the highest motives are behind their output, they know none the less it is employed, in utterly demoralizing fashion, in countries which do not want, but which are lamentably unable to avoid, its exploitation for the vast profits it yields. Hence, the Committee made some little progress in the direction of taking seriously in hand the drug requirements of each country, the system of exportation and international transit, the control of

manufacture, and the possibility of joint action. Nothing can be done until the groundwork of facts whereon we all have to work is definitely ascertained. And far less information will be expected or obtainable from China in most of these respects than from the highly-civilized Western nations. We have, indeed, reached the stage where we are the most unfortunate victims of modern science and commercial greed combined. We are still taxed with having occasional cultivation in our midst, yet all around us opium is produced with official sanction, and smuggling cannot be adequately suppressed. This would be bad enough, and is, but simultaneously our country is swamped with derivatives from opium and synthetic drugs, introduced from abroad, in every case, since we do not manufacture one single ounce.

At Geneva I endeavoured to call attention to the disastrous results of the wholesale importation of morphia into my own country. Years ago I should probably have appealed to deaf ears, but now the Far-Easterner can, without being a cynic, notice that the Western countries are themselves thoroughly alarmed at the spread of the drug evil in their midst. I do not wish to suggest that in the Far East our serious plight has been treated in the past with scant courtesy, but hope for China is far less to be expected from any measures she may take herself, though these are, despite all criticism, very largely effective, than from world action to control the use of drugs which are affecting the West quite as much as the East.

The Geneva Committee, which has just finished, possessed, I am glad to say, a much less academic value than most gatherings of the sort in the past. Those gatherings generally did possess a largely academic value. Nations met, discussed the moral obliquity of China, and seemed disposed, without much consideration for Chinese efforts in the matter, to criticize her methods as incomplete, inadequate, and half-hearted. There is far less of this tendency now. There is not a single Western nation at the present

time whose police authorities know whence comes the vast amount of drugs that is now surreptitiously sold, or even the organizations which are putting it on the market. There is, therefore, a far greater disposition to be honest, fair, and impartial in recognizing China's difficult position. I endeavoured at Geneva to lay stress, as every Chinese delegate in time gone by has done, on the *bona fides* of the Chinese Government in suppressing the opium traffic. It is not helpful for critics to turn round and say that everything is not done which ought to be done. I dare say this is the case in China, but what other country in the world can say that it is doing all it ought to do to suppress the drug evil?

Since the Committee met, I have forwarded my report to Peking, and therein I have urged that the Government should do its best to comply with the resolution, proposed by me and adopted by the delegates, to the effect that the investigations into the alleged cultivation of the poppy should be made by officials together with representatives of the popular organizations, such as the various Chambers of Commerce, the educational authorities, and the international anti-opium associations, all working in close co-operation to achieve the desired results. In addition, I have appealed, through the Press, to the people, with the object of rousing public opinion against the use of opium, just as was the case in 1917 at the end of the period of the Anglo-Chinese Agreement on the subject. Then poppy cultivation was entirely stamped out, a result attested and set on record by the British authorities, who affirmed that the Chinese Government had carried out the Agreement to the fullest possible extent. It was this Agreement the execution of which Sir John Jordan, the then Minister to China, supervised with such conspicuous success, and I venture to think that it will rank as one of the greatest achievements of his career, since by his action he saved four hundred millions of people in China from being poisoned. The debt which, in consequence, the Chinese

nation owes to him is one which it can never repay, though its gratitude will always be shared by posterity, which will cherish the memory of the deed. Sir John Jordan was Assessor to the Committee at Geneva, where his views were just, impartial, and broadminded. Especially was I pleased to find myself in agreement with him with respect to opium smuggling from neighbouring territories into China; also with regard to the poisoning of the Chinese people by morphia similarly brought in from outside. He employed very just and powerful arguments against this nefarious traffic. Such help will enable China to rid herself of all the dangerous drugs by which she is invaded from the outside. Sir John Jordan's great aim and task will be, however, crowned with success only by showing China that not merely will the production of opium be done away with, but that the importation of morphia or cocaine or foreign drugs will be absolutely stopped.

Prince Charoon of Siam was responsible for putting forward the very important proposal that the amount of poppy and derivatives of opium needed for legitimate medical use ought to be reported to the League of Nations, who would then prescribe the world's requirements of production. The League could ensure that only the production of such an authorized amount would be allowed, in order that people should not be poisoned by dangerous drugs. Mr. de Kat Angelino, the Dutch representative, inspired a very generous and just decision, applicable to all nations, that if any investigations were to be made by the League, they should be equally applied to those countries which manufactured morphia and other dangerous drugs as to all countries which were opium producers. By this solution alone could the nations hope to deal with the drug traffic. The Dutch Government should be very proud of its delegate, to whose initiative so much of our progress is due. It must, too, encourage Holland, since it can look back to its first successful convention against opium at the Hague in 1912 with the feeling that this gathering sowed

the seed of the harvest we shall assuredly reap in the near future.

I take this welcome opportunity to express on behalf of my country our heartfelt gratitude for the co-operation shown at the Committee Meetings from all the delegates and assessors. Throughout the proceedings there was shown a spirit of mutual interest and common accord to fight the drug evil. And efforts at its suppression can only be effective if the campaign is made world-wide.

We in China have great confidence in the League; we appeal to it to do what it can to save the world, and we assure it, in advance, of our heartiest co-operation. We in China are even more concerned than are Western peoples. We have suffered more than they have from the demoralization caused by the drug evil. We have, though, asked for fair play and a proper recognition of our momentary difficulties. I am glad to think our appeal is falling upon ears which are far more friendly and far more justly disposed than used to be the case. The world is beginning to grasp that this problem is a world problem—not a Chinese problem, not a Far-Eastern problem—and with this fact driven home, we may reach some practical result in the direction of suppression, which can only be obtained by common action and a recognition of our mutual responsibilities. I am glad, as I say, to think that opinion is setting steadily in this direction.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA.—III

BY J. A. SANDBROOK

(Editor of *The Englishman*, Calcutta)

(Continued from p. 316)

BUT no survey of the past hundred years, however superficial, can omit reference to the Saunders family, who, coming into possession of *The Englishman* soon after the Mutiny, have held the controlling interest ever since, maintaining and increasing the prestige that Stocqueler and men like Hurry had already brought to the paper. The first J. O'B. Saunders, whose father was one of the proprietors of the *Dundee Advertiser*, came to India as an indigo planter. While his friends indulged in polo and pig-sticking, he spent his leisure moments in contributing to the papers, and when the mutineers wrecked his indigo factory he bought *The Englishman*, and soon made of it a great and prosperous property. He became himself, as Sir Richard Temple, one time Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, records, "the most influential and popular character of his time in Calcutta." Tall of stature and broad, with a wealth of white beard and hair surrounding his genial face, he carried with dignity the title of the Nestor of Anglo-Indian journalism, and if his style in writing was ponderous and his taste in literature somewhat too refined and heavy for the light-hearted elements of Anglo-India, his wise, genial wit endeared him to the community. He continued the politics that Hurry had so well expressed—the critical side, or opposition to the Government, as he put it. But there was a marked change in one respect. It had been the custom of the Press, probably remembering the official restraints of the early days, to treat officials with contempt. "We no longer," wrote Saunders, "treated a civilian as a

tyrant or a fool because he was a C.S. . . . Our policy has been to treat all questions on their merits to the best of our ability, with a natural tendency to opposition politics. We have always acted free from all money or sinister influence. Whatever the value of our opinions may be, or of our advocacy, it has been our pride to trust for our reward to the public alone. The proprietary has an independent capital, and is at the beck of no man, and no one has power or influence in the editor's room from outside." This, in general terms, has been the policy of *The Englishman* ever since, and its reputation for fair dealing and for the straightforward expression of opinions honestly held was enhanced under the second J. O'B. Saunders, who is still remembered with affection and admiration by many hundreds of Anglo-Indians and by men, scattered now far and wide over the world, who had met him in fugitive visits to India, or in London, or on his travels abroad.

The Englishman, contributed to by men in the highest places, by soldiers and civilians, served by the best correspondents available in India and in England, came to be regarded as *par excellence* the exponent of the views of the European community in India, which, with the rise to prosperity of indigo, the increase in tea plantations, and the development of shipping and mining and engineering activities, had now grown large in numbers and great in wealth. New journals had sprung into existence, but *The Englishman* remained, and still remains, the characteristic mouthpiece of the British race in the East. If it were necessary to seek proofs, one need only refer to the messages of congratulation and goodwill that were sent to it by many eminent men when, on July 2, 1921, it reached its hundredth birthday. When I wrote reminding these men—some of whom, as a paper, we had strongly opposed and severely criticized—of the event, the response was astonishing in its promptness and generosity. The Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, in the midst of great and harassing affairs of State, found time to write :

India has just entered upon a new era which is fraught with the greatest possibilities for the happiness and progress of its peoples. It is of the greatest importance that in facing the problems of the future she should be fortified by sound and well-informed public opinion. The Press can render inestimable service in spreading accurate knowledge about current affairs, and in dealing with problems as they arise in a fearless spirit of honesty, tolerance, and fair play, as between all races and classes. I am confident that *The Englishman* will maintain the highest principles of journalism, and continue to merit in the future the high reputation which it has enjoyed in the past.

Lord Curzon, who, as a former Viceroy, remembered *The Englishman* and the support it gave him, wrote :

I am very glad to send a message of congratulation and good wishes to *The Englishman* on the celebration of its centenary. As the recognized and authoritative exponent of British opinion, not only in Bengal, but far beyond, *The Englishman* has wielded a great and powerful influence in the East, stimulating and inspiring its friends, respected by, and itself respecting, its opponents. Long may it uphold these traditions, and work for the combined welfare and glory of the British and Indian peoples.

Lord Reading, but newly arrived in India as Viceroy, was equally generous :

The pages of *The Englishman* during the last hundred years are a mirror of the thoughts and events of that important period in the history of India. It is a striking circumstance that you attain your centenary when India has passed through the open gates and is travelling along the road to full partnership within the Empire. Never was there a period when India stood more in need of a powerful and independent Press, prepared to criticize fearlessly when there is occasion, yet equally ready to lend influential support when there is justification. *The Englishman* has the courage of its convictions, and therefore carries authority even with those who differ from its conclusions and yet appreciate honesty of purpose and calmness of judgment.

I trust that the traditions of the hundred-year-old *Englishman* will be maintained throughout its existence with all their accustomed vigour, and that it will continue its efforts to promote true and hearty co-operation between British and Indian in pursuit of their common object—the welfare and happiness of India.

Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State, who has had no severer opponent and critic than *The Englishman*, put aside personal feelings that were natural, and wrote :

I reflect that since the development of free institutions in India owes so immeasurable a debt to the newspaper Press, the centenary of the oldest existing daily paper in that country is an event of profound interest, call-

ing on general grounds for congratulation. In the hope that a word from me in such circumstances may help to promote the union and goodwill for which H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught pleaded in India, and so soften political acerbities, I write these lines. I can hope that now the reforms are in being it will be recognized to be the duty of European and Indian alike to promote their success. I earnestly trust that in the second century on which it is entering *The Englishman* will use its enterprise and influence with increasing determination to promote in every possible way the co-operation between the Indian and European communities on which the future of the country so largely depends.

There were many other messages. Every living ex-Viceroy and every living ex-Secretary of State (with the exception of Lord Morley) sent cordial and generous congratulations. But I cannot trespass upon the space of this REVIEW to quote them here.

Coming, as *The Englishman's* centenary did, at a time when India is entering upon a new era of political development, it is only natural that the thoughts of statesmen charged with her destinies should dwell upon the influence of the Press and its attitude towards these vast political changes. India, from being a dependency ruled by a highly efficient bureaucracy, has broken with a century of tradition and embarked upon the high road that will lead her sooner or later, if it be trodden with care and loyalty, to be a self-governing dominion of the Empire. No greater ambition could be set before a people to be accepted or refused. And no more difficult a course could be set before a people whose faiths and ideals are so alien from our own, and whose standards of civilization and culture and freedom are so different. But if the conception of loyalty and freedom that informs the greatest of India's sons—men like the late Mr. Goakhale and like Mr. Srinivasa Shastri, who now wears his mantle, and like Lord Sinha, and many others that come to mind—be true of the people collectively, the task will not be impossible of fulfilment. It is because the people of India are as yet an unknown quantity in politics, as, indeed, in other things, that most of the important Anglo-Indian journals have opposed Lord Chelmsford's and Mr. Montagu's scheme of

reforms as premature, dangerous, and unwise. Events that have occurred since its inception can scarcely be expected to remove those doubts. But the reforms are now an accomplished fact, and nothing has so clearly demonstrated the loyalty of the Anglo-Indian Press to their principles and ideals as the careful and earnest way in which practically all the important newspapers are trying to help the new governments towards success. Whether they will achieve it is for them to show, not only now, when moderates are in possession of the power, but later when, maybe, the turn of the extremists will come. But of one thing all may be sure—namely, the hearty and steady endeavour of the Anglo-Indian Press to promote and to keep that atmosphere of cordial co-operation between the British and the Indian peoples without which progress, political, commercial, or social, is impossible. No one can have been in India long without realizing her vast possibilities. Her mineral wealth has scarcely yet been scratched. Within her own frontiers she can grow or mine, and some day manufacture, all that man may want in peace or in war. The golden keys of education have as yet opened the minds of only an infinitesimal proportion of her hundreds of millions of people. Let us hope that when education has done its work and the sun shines on the full noon of India's mighty possibilities, they will not be frittered away by the fruitless wrangling that has made a tragedy of the untutored democracy of China and has turned the institutions of democracy planted in the unsuitable and unprepared soil of Persia into a pathetic farce. So appalling a tragedy in India can only be averted if her responsible citizens make sure to-day that the foundations of democracy are solidly and truly built. And in that task the Press of India, English as well as vernacular, must play a great part. Splendid as are the prospects of other industries and professions, the prospects of the Press are no less alluring. The great Anglo-Indian journals of to-day are well equipped with modern plant for the future.

The old hand-presses and flat-bed machines, with their limited output, have given way to rotary presses more able to meet the large circulations that the growth of education and the increase of commerce and industry are bringing. The hunger for news of the outer world is more fully satisfied. A dozen years ago a column, or very little more, would contain the whole of Reuter's foreign cables. To-day a whole page barely suffices, and, in addition, *The Englishman* has acquired the rights for India of *The Times* cable service, supplied by brilliant correspondents in every part of the world. This is one of the many effective agencies at work to-day in the political education of India, bringing to her people and to the thousands of Britons who are helping them to work out their destiny a fuller knowledge of the outside world, and especially of that great Empire to whose free citizenship they aspire.

A hundred years of alternating peace and strife, famine and prosperity, have passed away. It is too much to hope for the years of the new dispensation nothing but peace and prosperity. Already it is too clear that the future holds for Englishmen and Indians alike difficult problems. But the more we try—and the Press is the greatest agency for trying—to understand one another's point of view, the more easy we shall find the solution. And if at times we must differ, let it be in the spirit of true journalism, "as gentlemen, with tolerance and charity."

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN INDIA

(Specially contributed from India)

THE educational problems of India are manifold, and extend from the instruction of infants to post-graduate teaching and research. Since the beginning of the current year it may be said that these problems have assumed magnified proportions owing to the advent of the Reforms. India is no longer to be bureaucratically governed. The millions of her population are henceforward to participate in a form of constitutional government. Under this form of government the electoral basis is greatly broadened; a dyarchical system entrusts certain branches of administration to Ministers responsible to popular assemblies; and, even in those branches which still remain the care of the bureaucracy, money-votes are largely dependent on the will of those assemblies, while the highest posts in the official hierarchy have been thrown more widely open than formerly to Indians.

This being so, the intelligence of the masses and an ordered and well-balanced system of public instruction become of vital importance. Before a special enquiry is made into the circumstances which characterize any particular section of the educational organization, it is necessary to grasp four facts which condition the examination of every part of the problem and which will at once throw detailed criticism into proper perspective.

First, according to the census of 1911, no less than 94 per cent. of the population is illiterate; and, according to the latest figures, only 3·36 per cent. of the population is under any form of instruction.

Second, such education as exists is mainly among the male sex; an insignificant fraction of the female population is literate, and only 1·15 per cent. of it is under instruction.

Third, the proportion of males undergoing higher education in English high schools and colleges equals, or even exceeds, what is to be found in most civilized countries. This is remarkable in a country where the educational figures alone point to a backward state of development ; the contrast between the numbers in higher and those in elementary education gives food for most serious reflection.

Fourth, the higher education imparted is in the main literary. There are 66,000 students in colleges ; 57,500 of these are in arts or law colleges ; medicine claims nearly 3,500, teaching 1,000 ; the small remainder are divided between engineering, agricultural, veterinary, commercial, and forestry colleges. Again, those studying in vocational schools (including schools for training teachers, schools of art and law and medical schools) are to those in ordinary literary secondary schools as one to ten.

The condition of things thus created was tersely described in the last "*Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in India*": "A middle class widely instructed in those arts which qualify for the learned professions ; a proletariat of which only a fraction is literate ; a whole sex almost totally devoid of any education whatever."

When we turn to elementary education, we find that there are over 155,000 schools. But these contain only slightly over six million pupils. The comparatively small enrolment is due to a variety of causes—the scattered distribution of the 536,000 villages contained in British India, sometimes the poor qualifications of teachers, sometimes the lukewarmness, not yet wholly disappeared, of the parents. In a few of the Indian States, notably Baroda, there is compulsion. In 1911 the late Mr. Gokhale introduced a private Bill for compulsion in British India. The view taken by Government was that there had been no popular demand for such a measure, and that, on the other hand, there was much official and non-official opposition to it. The Bill was rejected by a large majority in the Legislative Council. But Government declared its readiness to consider local Bills. Such local Bills have now been passed in most

provinces. But they leave the adoption of compulsion to local option ; in most cases they apply only to municipal areas ; and they have hitherto had only an infinitesimal effect. The dead weight of illiteracy needs other levers, besides legislation, to move it. There is need of money and of trained teachers. The caste system in some localities still retards progress. Above all, between 70 and 80 per cent. of the population live by agriculture ; the want of education is not obvious to the smaller *ryot* or day labourer ; while the want of youthful labour in the busy seasons for the tending of cattle, etc., is insistent.

It is sometimes asserted that the effect produced on individual pupils by the system of elementary education is evanescent. Other critics assert that even the simple vernacular instruction given in primary schools unfits the boy for pursuing his hereditary profession of agriculture, weakens his physique, and sets him longing for a sedentary life. It is true that the length of school life for the ordinary pupil is probably less than four years ; and it has been calculated that 39 per cent. of the ex-pupils slide back into illiteracy within five years of their leaving the elementary school. But either view, in its extreme form, is erroneous—the latter especially so. The serious question, however, arises, whether a vocational turn could be given to elementary education which would reconcile the parent to a continuance of his children's schooling beyond the age when they become useful in the fields. The possibility of this was recently explored by a Commission sent by certain Mission bodies in connection with the education of the Indian Christian community. Central vocational schools were advocated. Here again the problem is largely one of funds.

Secondary education suffers from a plethora of cheap private schools, lack of trained teachers, cramming, an over-literary curriculum, and a soul-destroying examination at the close. These influences, of course, operate with varying force in different parts of the country. They are most in evidence in Bengal. The effect of the decision made during

the first half of the nineteenth century, that efforts should be concentrated on Western learning, has, on the whole, been beneficial. But some troublesome problems have been raised. Naturally, the staff employed has more and more come to be Indian. Many of the teachers find difficulty in entering into the spirit of the subjects they are expected to teach. In the high schools, less than 10,000 teachers are trained out of a total of over 30,000. The examinations are held on a gigantic scale, which enforces mechanical methods on the examiner, and encourages defective methods of teaching and learning. The lower classes of the colleges become thronged with unfit students who drop off before the degree-stage is reached, but not before their presence has resulted in sensible lowering of standards and embarrassment to conscientious teachers.

Sir Michael Sadler's Commission has dealt exhaustively with the defects of secondary and University education in Bengal. Those defects probably appear in the most aggravated form in that Presidency. But they are more or less reflected elsewhere; and the Government of the United Provinces, under the enlightened guidance of Sir Harcourt Butler, is adopting the main recommendations of the Commission's Report with enthusiasm. The first problem is the reduction of the size of the existing Universities by the creation of new centres of more manageable dimensions, where local interest can be aroused. The second is the rearrangement of the governing bodies of the University in such a manner as to give freer play to the academic element. The third, and perhaps the most important, is the relegation of the lower collegiate classes to their proper place—the secondary school. Then follow numerous other problems connected with tuition, examinations, residence, etc.

Then again comes the important question of giving a more practical turn to secondary studies, in order to divest some of the students from the purely literary course (for which they are often ill-fitted) to more congenial and lucrative employment following on instruction given in the

technical and professional colleges and institutions. Medical and engineering colleges indeed are full ; and there is need for an extension of the facilities for medical training. But industrial training somewhat lags ; the chances of profitable work are precarious in a country where industrial development is still imperfect.

If education is regarded according to the classes who are undergoing it, or should be undergoing it, the most pressing matter is clearly the education of girls, which, as has sometimes been pointed out, is still a social rather than an educational problem. Interest, too, is being evinced in the education of the adult—a question which gains greatly in importance by the advent of reforms. The education of the Indian army is being vigorously organized. The education of the European and Anglo-Indian population has its own difficulties.

The complex nature of the questions which await solution by the Ministers (to whom education is now entrusted) is apparent. The difficulties are accentuated by various circumstances. India spends no inconsiderable portion of her revenue on Education. But the whole budget is small for the size of the country ; and finance forms the greatest stumbling-block. In a land of various races and creeds the straightforward problems are complicated by important issues arising out of the language (or the medium of instruction) to be used in schools, out of the thorny subject of religious instruction, out of the conflicting interests of different sections of the population. Educational questions are often treated from a political point of view ; and the non-co-operation movement has just shown how ready is the politician to divert (though on this occasion he has been in the main unsuccessful) the energies of boys from study to the excitements of public meetings, processions and picketing. Solid progress has been made. Fifty years ago, the number of those under instruction in India was less than two millions. To-day it exceeds eight millions. But new problems are emerging, and a general quickening is demanded by the constitutional changes.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

THE COMMERCIAL FUTURE OF CHINA

A NEW POWER FOR GOOD AT WORK—BANKERS AND MERCHANTS

BY T. BOWEN PARTINGTON

CHINA to-day is attracting more attention than any other country in the world. In political circles she has recently been the subject of discussions in Washington between Cabinet officers of World Power governments.

In commercial circles she is also under consideration, and is regarded to-day as one of the great industrial nations of the future. Nature has endowed her with almost inconceivable riches in minerals and metals. Her coal and iron supplies exceed those of any other part of the world, and her deposits of antimony, copper, and tin are prodigious. Within the past ten years the development of her steel industry has been remarkable. Great textile mills, flour mills, and other varied industries, have been developed, and her transportation systems, woefully lacking in extent and effectiveness, are being improved.

More and more the masses of the people are being brought into contact with the current of progress, and they are being educated to need things from the West. Out of the old China there has come a new China, and the differentiation between the new and the old is in the receptivity of the new as contrasted with the self-sufficiency of the old. All of China to-day is receptive, with its face to the future and away from the past, ready to take advantage of all that the West and modern civilization has to offer. And the thing to be noted is that China has no old machinery or ideas in a modern industrial and commercial sense to scrap. It starts in to-day where we are, and is in a position to take the best we have. And, it may be noted,

that what China takes to-day will in a measure determine what she will want to-morrow.

But it is not my intention in this article to deal with China as a great commercial field. It is to be hoped that the reader will admit this. The thing which is occupying the minds of commercial men to-day, men who have this great faith in the enormous possibilities of China, is as to whether there is any powerful influence at work in China to-day, as opposed to the mercenary war lords, which will be able materially to assist in the bringing about of the realization of the development of China's possibilities referred to above.

Even as I write these lines China is in the throes of civil war, and the stage is all set for the play which will show once again the rival military factions in collision . . . with the object, not of bringing about any further good in the country, but rather satisfying their own greed. There was a time, not long ago in Chinese history, when such a collision would have had far-reaching effects. But to-day, even when it comes, it first leaves the commercial and agricultural classes untouched. If anything they resent it all, and because of this resentment the commercial class in China has now banded itself together to oppose the military party in every possible way, and it is in this party, consisting of bankers and merchants, that one sees the new power for good. They represent to-day all that is good—nay, even the best—in China. They are well educated, high principled, and they are coming to the fore. What is more, and . . . what is the all-important thing in China, is that they have the money. This money they are determined to withhold from the militarists, who will thus be helpless, inasmuch as they will have neither the money with which to pay their riff-raff of a soldiery, nor will they have the wherewithal with which to procure arms and ammunition.

This new power was evidently recognized and believed in by Sir Charles Addis, K.C.M.G., Chairman of the Hong

Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation when he was in China just a few weeks ago. He was summoned to Genoa directly he returned from China, and referring to the threatened civil war there stated :

"The gravity of the political situation was exaggerated. No ground for quarrel between North and South China existed. . . . China always emerged from such vicissitudes as a homogeneous nation, and would doubtless do so again. The only obstacle to union was the military governors, who usurped the power of the Government, diverted the State revenues to their own use, and otherwise oppressed the people, BUT THERE WERE SIGNS THAT THE PEOPLE WERE GROWING RESTIVE AND COMBINING AGAINST THIS MILITARY DESPOTISM."

This is the new power which will prove China's salvation and bring about that great development which will place China at the head of the commercial countries of the world.

For the development of any country money is a necessity, and China is no exception. Again and again enormous loans have been made, the money for which should have gone to developing the country. Instead of that, the military politicians of China have played the lowest type of political game with public finance, and have consequently robbed the Chinese of the respect they rightfully deserve from their contemporaries. The financial maladministration of the country has been repeatedly and rightly described as China's most serious Government ailment. It has been considered by many to be the least susceptible to treatment. It is an ague which has penetrated the Chinese body politic and has brought on a palsy more dangerous either than the canker of the Tughunates (the corrupt governors) or the elephantiasis of inflated militarism. But it has been learned by this time that China's healing must come from within—which is true of any nation—although the process may be greatly stimulated by sympathetic circumstances. And it is the bankers and merchants who have set about this work of healing.

China's ancient dynasties adhered firmly to the principle of paying as they went, knowing no other. Money for any scheme of statecraft, military campaign, imperial luxury, or work of construction, was levied and got in hand . . . then spent. Only in the degenerate days of the Manchus did rulers and chamberlains of the exchequer learn the Western convenience of governmental loans and bond issues. This modern convenience became, as many others to the unsophisticated Oriental, a vice.

Like an opiate providing the delusion of strength without nourishment, it came to be the reliance of the Manchu house, and when withheld at the critical moment, became one of the factors in the Imperial downfall.

Thus we find to-day, in the eleventh year of the Republic, that China is mortgaged to foreign interests to the sum of approximately 600,000,000 dollars, and to its own people, through domestic bond issues, to the sum of 300,000,000 Mexican dollars.

The blame is with the Government. Not only have no reserves been laid up to meet this immense burden of liabilities, but the various departments have been spending more than their income. The Government has only four ways of securing funds—taxation and revenues; currency inflation through withdrawal of specie deposited as security for bank notes of the banks which the Government may control, or the unsecured issue of such notes; and loan and Treasury promissory-note issues.

As to the first, taxes of every possible form have already been imposed to the limit of the Government's deficient ability of enforcement. The Chinese people, in spite of their docility, will only endure a certain amount of taxation, and it is exceedingly difficult to subject them to any levy which has no precedent. Further, things have been made more difficult for the Peking Government by the actions of the many military leaders scattered about who have, in recent years, acquired the habit of retaining for their own purposes such portions of the tax levies as they

consider they require, and remitting the balance, if any, to the hungry Treasury in Peking. This is the true source of China's weakness, and this removed, then there is nothing but prosperity, commercial and otherwise, for the country and the people, for the tens of thousands of dollars which yearly have been wasted in futile military expeditions and the like, to satisfy simply the greed of some particular military clique, will then be spent not only in assisting China to discharge her financial obligations to other countries, but will also be used to the building up of the commercial life of the country and the development of the resources of China, which, when properly developed, will make her the greatest industrial country in the world and, incidentally, one of the wealthiest.

The Consortium has done good. By the Consortium embargo the Chinese Government is cut off from its profligate diet of foreign gold. Immediately the question arises as to where China is to turn. There are, of course, outside the Consortium, banks and co-operations which might loan money. But these latter ones are wary . . . they fear to tread the paths that even the great London-Paris-New York-Tokyo financial pool will not walk. Thus the militarists, the party which has been checking the commercial progress of the country, finds itself blocked. For without money they are unable to get the hired mercenaries to fight for them. With the average Chinese soldier of to-day loyalty is a thing unknown. He fights for the one who will pay him the most. I have seen myself in China, two conflicting armies meet on the field of battle, and after a lengthy conversation one army has stepped over to the side of the other on the promise of better pay!

And at this critical time there has stepped into the arena the very party which is going to effect the salvation of the country. This consists of the bankers and merchants. They have money . . . lots of it, too . . . and they are willing to loan it to the Government, but they are going to have the supervision of its expenditure. For they all of

them believe that the Chinese nation is fully able to support itself ; that its financial difficulties are due to the maladministration and not to poverty. They believe that they can place the finances of China on so sound a basis that not even a certain amount of unavoidable political unrest will greatly impair the Treasury's credit.

For what China is able to do, when there is proper supervision, is seen in the latest return for the Chinese Maritime Customs and the Salt Gabelle. The yield of the former for 1921 is a record, and there is an enormous surplus even when all obligation secured on the customs have been met, and there is a tremendous yield also from the Salt Gabelle. It is as Sir Charles Addis stated the other day, that given stable Government " the trade possibilities would be infinite." Even the railways show a surplus again.

The doctrine of this group is that the Chinese are fully able to finance their Government, provided that the reforms are carried out and guarantees given which are necessary to create public confidence. They are determined that no great quantity of foreign gold shall come into China immediately. And they have organized for an active and leading part in their Governmental finance. They are confident of the ability of the Chinese to finance China, and even provide for its material progress when the confidence of the investing public has been gained, and this confidence they are out to get. At the same time they realize that this progress can be very much more rapid if assisted by foreign money, lent in the spirit of friendly commercialism and untrammelled by political influences. They desire friendly relations with the foreign bankers, and hope for their co-operation in developing China's resources.

The spirit of these men, newly class-conscious and awakened to their responsibility toward the salvation of the nation as well as the protection of their own interests, inspires admiration. If it be true and continue true, that

the people are with them, they are bound to win—not perhaps entirely according to programme—but none the less certainly. There is one thing against which they have to guard and that is the poison of success, which has thus far made every reform movement in China wellnigh as arrogant and intolerant as the rotten officialdom which it has sought to purify.

If the bankers wish to build upon the sound basis of popular support a permanent institution for the encouragement of progress they must avoid every semblance of plutocracy, which, although it might be more mathematically honest, would be as detestable to the Chinese masses as is the present corrupt mandarinocracy.

In conclusion it would be good to quote the closing words of the Shanghai memorandum, which will itself go down in the documentary history of the nation, but the last paragraphs of which deserve to be taught to every class in civil government as an example of the taking to task of a degenerate administration by a group of indignant and determined citizens :

“The above-mentioned plans, although common and simple, are the only means of saving the situation. If the Government treats these suggestions as a scrap of paper, the people will refuse to allow the drainage of their limited sources of capital to pay meaningless expenses. If the Government tries to raise domestic loans to relieve itself, failure will be certain. The banks, to protect their business, cannot but make known to the public the kinds of loans they will float or refuse to float. If the banks decline to take up a loan proposition, merchants will not dare to do so. The confusion of the currency system seriously concerns the financial class. The banks, for the sake of protection, may be forced to resort to yet further means to wake up the Government. In such case it will be impossible for the Government to secure money for them.”

The bankers further add :

“That foreign loans have a tremendous effect upon the finances of the country. Though it is recognized that in the building up of industries and carrying out of reforms

foreign loans are indispensable, the Government shall not in the least disregard the financial interests of the nation, and shall not get foreign loans as give the nation temporary relief, but lead it to destruction. We, the Chinese bankers, demand that we be allowed to take part in the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of any proposed financial move which concerns the nation before the Government comes to decision."

China is a country of unlimited possibilities and is on the way to the realization of these at a great pace. And if the reader is somewhat sceptical of this and points to the disorder being, and likely to be, a great bar to commercial progress, let him be warned against falling into that very common error so many critics of China commit. That is the Westerner's "ingrained habit" of envisaging the facts and phenomena of Chinese development, since the revolutionary transaction of 1911-12, in terms of purely European thought and achievement.

An historical change, as pregnant in its ultimate significance as the French Revolution, takes place in China, and, because it goes to the roots of national life, disarrays necessarily and profoundly the work of government for less than a decade; and the impatient European fastens on the facts of disorder—the mark and proof of the reality of the change—and forthwith attempts what a great political thinker has declared to be an impossibility: he indicts a nation for its alleged incapacity and convicts the Chinese of racial unfitness to govern themselves and make any material progress. The vice of much of the current foreign criticism and meditations on China to-day is that they are judged from the standpoint of developed institutions in Europe and America with their growth of centuries.

Considering the basic soundness of her social and economic structure, the character of her great population, her varied climate and products, and the almost fabulous riches of her mines, there is no more alluring field in the world than China. What is wanted, however, is a more widespread interest in foreign affairs and foreign countries,

especially China, and a generally more sympathetic attitude on the part of British capitalists, merchants, and manufacturers, both individual and corporate, toward the world lying outside the confines of our Empire. If Great Britain would but capitalize the good-will that China bears for it and all things British it would find in the Far Eastern Republic the greatest opportunities in the history of commerce between nations.

March, 1922.

ARTS AND CRAFTS SECTION

THE BURMESE CRAFTSMAN AND HIS WORK

BY H. B. HOLME

(Director of Industries, Burma)

EVER since the British occupation spasmodic efforts have been made to assist and keep alive Burman art, but the efforts have been fitful and have depended to a great extent on the individual efforts of certain officers. When these officers have been on leave or have retired the efforts ceased. It must be remembered that the homes of many of these arts are far away in the interior, and even the residents of the coastwise towns and certainly the casual tourists had no opportunity of obtaining craft-ware except through friends and after long delays. The craft workers were poor and required advances or loans to purchase material before they could commence work, and even the more affluent needed to sell one piece before they could commence a second. A necessary consequence of this was that with many workers the craft is a secondary occupation, subsidiary to agriculture or petty trading, and the workers are not infrequently wholly in the hands of financiers. In just a few cases the best workers came under the protection of patrons, mostly Europeans, who purchased the whole output or found a market for it among their friends. The transfer or retirement of such a patron might leave the craftsman to fall back into his old position, though frequently he would make a month's journey to find his old patron when he had articles to dispose of or was in difficulty.

It is worth while remembering that in many parts of the remoter confines of Burma the followers of some crafts are still a living part of the national economy. That is to say, they supply the neighbourhood with necessary utensils and they are thus an indispensable cog in the machine. We

are so accustomed to go to the nearest shop to buy a cup and saucer, a water-jug, a glass, a broom, or a garden spade, that we never stop to think of the elaborate system of manufacturers, travellers, wholesalers and distributors necessary in order to put down in one small village shop things manufactured in the farthest towns of the United Kingdom, or in America or other foreign countries. We have to envisage a very much more primitive state of affairs in order to realize a craftsman in his real element. Such primitive conditions still exist in many parts of the East. The rice for daily food is husked in a home-made mill ; the shoes are made by a local cobbler ; the women of the village spin and weave, and in some places grow the silk for the skirts of men and women. Sufficient cotton is saved to provide seed and to furnish yarn and cloth to clothe the household. Food is cooked and water carried in pots made locally all over the province. Drinking-cups are provided by the lacquer workers, if something more elaborate than a half cocoanut shell is required. Almost every man, woman, and child can weave mats and baskets, and there is in most neighbourhoods a blacksmith who can make agricultural implements, including "Dahs," the indispensable knife-hatchet of the jungle-dweller. Here, therefore, the metier of the craftsman is to supply himself or his neighbours with something vitally necessary in their every-day life. For the most part they are not the leisurely followers of a hobby or the difficult devotees of an art.

And even in the more sophisticated parts of Burma the advent of the enamel tin cup and the galvanized bucket, the kerosene oil tin, Manchester cottons and Japanese silks is sufficiently recent for the older makers of the supplanted indigenous article to remember the time when the bulk of their market was purely local for utility articles. Even in the more purely artistic and luxury occupations, such as silver-work, ivory-carving and wood-carving, the native craftsman has suffered from the competition of cheaper machine-made stuff from Europe and Japan. Nowadays

electro-plate and aluminium-ware is frequently used in remote parts for religious dedications where formerly lacquer-ware, basket-ware, or silver-ware alone could have been procured. The goldsmith, too, in a primitive state of society is something of a banker. Surplus revenue is mostly turned into articles of jewellery, which again, in times of stress, are pawned to the goldsmith or sold outright to him. Such crude jewellery mostly changes hands by weight, little being allowed for workmanship. It is frequently broken up and made again into new ornaments, thus ensuring fairly regular employment for the gold and silversmiths. With the advent of banks and the spread of commerce this part of the goldsmiths work dwindles, but he finds compensation in the demand for higher-class ornaments and jewellery calling for more skill—a demand which follows on the raising of the standard of living.

Conditions, therefore, have been operating against the hand workers of Burma for at least two generations. Many of them besides the goldsmiths have met the altered state of affairs, perhaps unconsciously, by substituting higher-class luxury articles for the cheaper and cruder utility articles previously made. The market for much of this has been among Europeans, or among the Burman and Indian population who have attained a higher standard of living and whose tastes have become to some extent Europeanized. This is, perhaps, most marked in the matter of furniture and house furnishings. In the older Burman house furniture in our sense hardly existed. At the present time tables and chairs, and bedsteads and bookcases, are almost universal. It speaks very highly for the craft-worker of Burma, firstly, that his original "utility" articles were so artistic as to attract buyers who used them only as ornaments, and, secondly, that he has so readily adapted his craft to the production of articles not only artistic but useful in a civilization so different to that in which he was trained.

To help him in this transition, no institution has played

so important a part as the Art and Craft Exhibitions held annually in Rangoon for upwards of twenty years. For some years, also, competitions have been organized in connection with this exhibition, and small money prizes and medals and diplomas have been awarded by Government. The exhibition, like Topsy, "just grewed." It has no charter nor legal origin, but the privilege of displaying a medal won at the Exhibition, or the right to put over the small jungle workshop "First Grade Craftsman at the Government Exhibition," has probably done more to keep alive and improve the indigenous arts of Burma than anything else. Another important function of the Exhibition was that it became really a Trade Fair, and this was the only time in the year when a large part of the buying public could come in direct contact with the actual makers of the articles. But the Exhibition only lasted a week, and at other times of the year would-be purchasers could only get things through friends up-country. At the end of the week, too, the workers would often sell off the rest of their stock at a loss to dealers or others rather than cart it back up-country, and their net advantage was thus minimized.

But gradually the individuality and charm of Burmese work was becoming known outside Burma, and at the British Industries Fair of 1920 an attempt was made to find a wider outlet. The few articles sent attracted very favourable attention, but unfortunately it was a time of very high rupee exchange which had fallen before the goods could be delivered, and the sterling prices quoted proved too low. There was also difficulty in getting the makers to fill the contracts within the stipulated time. Hence no appearance was made at the Fair of 1921, though several of those who had been attracted in 1920 made enquiries.

In the spring of 1921 the new Department of Industries was started, and as regards Arts and Crafts its first activities were directed to establishing a Depot in Rangoon

for the sale of Arts and Craft ware. The Depot was opened in the beginning of May in a large room adjoining the office of the Director of Industries which is in the heart of the business part of the town. From the start it was realized that to treat it as a sample-room or museum simply for the booking of orders would render the whole scheme nugatory, for the buying public are largely tourists or casual visitors to Rangoon who simply do not buy unless they can get the things at once. They have no opportunity themselves to go to the makers, nor are they as a rule long enough in Rangoon to wait while the things are ordered from up-country. There is also a considerable number of cases where people will buy on the spur of the moment but will not be bothered to order and wait. Lastly, with craft-workers repetitions are not always successful or exact replicas, and people will buy an actual article which they like, but will not order one like it for fear of getting something not so pleasing.

Equally, it was impracticable to ask the workers to put their goods on commission sale. Most of them are exceedingly poor and cannot afford to lay out their little money. Often they have to borrow to buy raw materials and to live while articles are being made. If not sold at once, they are required to deposit the made articles with the money-lender or to sell them to him at a reduced price in order to get further advances, and this they cannot do if the articles are sent to Rangoon for sale on commission. The Burma Government therefore generously agreed to advance a sum of Rs. 20,000 (£1,333) to enable the Depot to purchase goods outright from the makers. The cost of packing, freight, etc., to Rangoon, if any, was added, and then a further 1 anna in the rupee ($6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.) was added to cover the cost of running the Depot.

The success of this experiment was most striking. Sales in June amounted to Rs. 2,000, and they increased roughly by Rs. 1,000 a month up to the end of the year. The whole capital was turned over in about six months, and at

the end of the year Government increased the advance to Rs. 50,000 (£3,333). It took some time for the workers to realize the advantages of the Depot, and as no advertising was done the general public did not immediately become aware of the existence of the Depot. Gradually, however, these initial difficulties were overcome, and it is already possible to appreciate the many ways in which such a Depot can be of use.

The first of these in importance consists in improving the standard of work. Some of the best craftsmen had taken entirely to other occupations. One reason was that during the war no tourists came and the residents were not spending money, either because money was tight or because they were not going on leave to Europe, or because transport on the high seas was difficult. But a more cogent reason was that the dealers would not pay for good work. They seemed to prefer a quantity of cheap stuff of Burmese character, but poor workmanship on which they could make high profits. The cost of living had gone up enormously, and a rate of remuneration which formerly kept a worker in comfort no longer sufficed to keep him alive. He found that he must increase his output or charge more for his work. When the latter was impossible, he either skimped his work so as to increase his output or simply took up another occupation. This in Burma is easy and is frequently done. The real artist who took a pride in his work would not produce the inferior stuff, and so the ranks were thinned by the loss largely of the more conscientious artists. Several of these have now gladly taken up the work again because the Depot has not been afraid to let it be known that a better price will be paid for better work. In this respect the Depot has attempted to get the workers to price their own articles. It does not bargain with them. It says, "We want you to get a fair remuneration. You know best what that is, but you should remember that if you ask too much no one will buy your things, and you will not get any more orders."

On the whole this has worked extremely well. There is competition among workers, and if a man has placed too high a price on an article, he has been told when he came again that nothing more could be bought as his prices were so high or the work so indifferent that no one had been found to buy the things bought from him before. Advice is given to them not to ask too much, and of course in the last resort the Depot can and simply does refuse to buy things because it feels that they cannot be disposed of.

The second great use of such a Depot is to provide a continuing market throughout the year. It has already been noticed that the annual exhibition was of use in bringing the up-country maker into direct contact with the larger buying public of Rangoon, and this Depot has made this market continuous throughout the year. Many of the Burmese cottage-crafts are seasonal occupations. This is either because one-half of the year is very wet and the other very dry, and some trades can only be plied either in the wet or the dry season, or because the worker is an agriculturist first and a craftsman second. In the latter case he goes to his fields as soon as the rain breaks, and will not follow his craft again till the crop is reaped in the following cold weather. Such a worker will often sell his whole output to a dealer as soon as the season ends, and equally the dealer must lay in his year's stock in the few months when the makers are at work. Demand, however, is mostly even throughout the year, but without a Depot in the central market, which can act as a reservoir for such makers, would-be purchasers can get their wants supplied only during a few months of the year and by casual meetings with the local dealers. Much potential demand in this way never materialized under the old system, and many people who have been long resident in the country never knew of the existence of some crafts in Burma until they saw the products in the Rangoon Depot.

For the makers who work throughout the year the Depot has been a godsend. If they live near they are

encouraged to bring in their wares personally at short intervals, and the purchase of them enables them to commence other work at once without waiting for a sale and without the waste of time involved in hawking the stuff round. Workers who live farther up country are advised to bring their work down monthly or quarterly. Personal visits are recommended, because it enables the workers to study the work of other craftsmen, and gives the officials of the Depot an opportunity to recommend alterations and improvements and to suggest new patterns.

This latter activity constitutes another important use of the Depot. Gradually the Depot acquires a very valuable knowledge of the wants of the public, and by personal contact with the makers can help them to make their articles more in accordance with public taste and requirements. New designs and patterns are much more necessary than is realized by the makers of "fancy" goods. And this applies very particularly to the export market. When they were making "utility" articles for use in Burmese households there was little or no need to change patterns. The same thing perhaps sold better for being the same year by year. Housewives do not follow changing fashions in frying-pans, but when the things are put on the stalls at the White City the position is quite different. An article which will sell readily as a "novelty" in the fancy goods line one year may not find a single buyer next year when the novelty has worn off. To keep a place in the export market therefore it is necessary to have a constant change of pattern and design. Only experience can tell what lines are likely to go well, and the Depot in Rangoon is a necessity as a disseminator of new ideas.

Closely connected with this function is that of establishing standards of work. In connection with the exhibition competitions for different grades of workers were organized, and, as already mentioned, the privilege of calling oneself a "First-Grade Craftsman" is highly prized. But, unfortunately, possession of a first-grade certificate does not

always mean first-grade work when there is no competition. The Depot has already been able to do a good deal in classifying work as it comes in, and by refusing to take over indifferent or slipshod work has been able already to produce a noticeable improvement in many classes of craftware. It is hoped in time to organize juries of craftsmen, who will themselves classify all work sent in for purchase by the Depot.

The work has only just begun, but it may justly be claimed that a good deal has been done in one year. In conclusion, it may be said that the Burmese are a race of artists, and that it has been a continuing delight to work with them and a source of pride if one has been able to help them.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE SUITABILITY OF THE PRINCIPLES AND
METHODS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERN-
MENT TO THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF
EASTERN PEOPLES

BY WILLIAM SAUNDERS

I

THE nature of the principles of Representative Government is largely, if not entirely, embodied in John Stuart Mill's famous definition, "that the whole people exercise, through deputies periodically elected by themselves, the ultimate controlling power, which, in every constitution, must reside somewhere. This ultimate power they must possess in all its completeness. They must be masters, whenever they please, of all the operations of government." This is the general political aspect of the idea, but Representative Government implies more than a merely political proposition. There are vast underlying philosophical considerations which, in an investigation of such a character as the subject of this essay necessitates, cannot be ignored. And, again, Mill is found to have forestalled, to a large extent, modern reasoning upon the subject, and has provided us with a statement of the case, which, so far as the philosophical content of Representative Government is concerned, could scarcely be bettered. "All government," he writes, "which aims at being good is an organization of some part of the good qualities existing in the individual members of the community, for the conduct of its collective affairs. A representative constitution is a means of bringing the general standard of intelligence and honesty existing in the community, and the individual intellect and virtue of its wisest members, more directly to bear upon the government, and investing them with greater influence in it than they would in general have under any other mode of

organization ; though, under any, such influence as they do have is the source of all good that there is in the government, and the hindrance of every evil that there is not. The greater the amount of these good qualities which the institutions of a country succeed in organizing, the better the mode of organization, the better will be the government."

As will be seen, when the political and economic conditions of Eastern peoples come to be considered, there are external factors which have a distinct and important bearing upon the question, that are not covered by Mr. Mill's metaphysical description, yet, in dealing with any Eastern question, the psychological aspect is always the phase upon which an ultimate answer depends, and it is to that consideration that primary and chief attention must be directed. The great barriers to any sort of reform in Oriental countries are the ingrained divergences of ideals and aspirations between the peoples of the East and those of the West ; the great prevalence of caste, and the extreme racial and religious antagonisms, all of them psychological in character, and consequently all the more dangerous to combat and difficult to reconcile with the attitudes and beliefs of alien communities. The caste system, so characteristic of our Indian Empire, is the rock upon which all schemes for the introduction of ideas of political equality there must eventually be wrecked. It is the framework of nearly all Eastern civilizations, and its origin and still widely extended prevalence lies deeply rooted in the Eastern mind. So, likewise, are the religions of the East, with all the fatalistic influence they exert, largely mental attitudes. The Muhammadan, Buddhist, and Confucian points of view are different from, even when not positively opposed to, those of the Christian. It is, on the other hand, chiefly upon the ethical structure of Christianity that the principles of Representative Government are built, and to educate Orientals in the doctrines necessary for their reception and application would require not only the greatest possible tact, but an ability on the part of the instructor of effecting a mental

change in his pupils, such as few, if any, Western political thinkers possess.

John Stuart Mill lays down three conditions which are necessary for the perfect working of the political machine, viz. :

1. "The people for whom the form of government is intended must be willing to accept it ; or at least not so unwilling as to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to its establishment.

2. "They must be willing and able to do what is necessary to keep it standing.

3. "They must be willing and able to do what it requires of them to enable it to fulfil its purposes."

He then goes on to explain that the word "do" must include forbearances as well as actual deeds. "They must be capable of fulfilling the conditions of action, and the conditions of self-restraint, which are necessary either for keeping the established polity in existence, or for enabling it to achieve the ends, its conduciveness to which forms its recommendation." All three conditions are essential, and the failure of any one of them renders the form of government, "whatever favourable promise it may otherwise hold out, unsuitable to the particular case."

So far as Representative Government is concerned, it is still highly problematical to what extent the first condition may be held to apply to Eastern peoples. There have recently been indications that seemed to point to a political awakening in Turkey, Egypt, Persia, and China, but investigators have since thrown considerable doubt upon the fact of these so-called revolutions having amounted to more than what may be the equivalent of a mere change of Government in this country. About the unsuitability and unpreparedness of Eastern peoples for the acceptance of the other two conditions in their relation to Representative Government, however, there can be no manner of doubt whatever. John Stuart Mill himself, to some extent, anticipates the argument of such a case : "A rude people,

though in some degree alive to the benefits of civilized society, may be unable to practise the forbearances which it demands: their passions may be too violent, or their personal pride too exacting, to forgo private conflict, and leave to the laws the avenging of their real or supposed wrongs. In such a case, a civilized government, to be really advantageous to them, will require *to be in a considerable degree despotic*; to be one over which they do not themselves exercise control, and which imposes a great amount of forcible restraint upon their actions."

There we have an all but complete picture of the present-day political conditions of Eastern peoples, and as he proceeds, it is found that the great thinker actually had the peoples of the Orient in his mind when the paragraph was written; he is indeed, rightly or wrongly, quite definite on the point:

"A people who are more disposed to shelter a criminal than to apprehend him; who, like the Hindoos, will perjure themselves to screen the man who has robbed them, rather than take trouble or expose themselves to vindictiveness by giving evidence against him."

The true functions of government are the attainment of order, the administration of justice, and the furtherance of the highest welfare of those under its jurisdiction. Although open to criticism, there is yet much truth in the Benthamite definition of a perfect government, "The attainment of the greatest good of the greatest number," and there are still many estimable people who regard Pope's oft-quoted dictum that "whate'er is best administered is best" as more in accordance with the principles of sane political philosophy than the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's "good government can never be a substitute for government by the people themselves." Whether such is actually the case in the East is a matter upon which there may be differences of opinion. Individuals of the Campbell-Bannerman school, so imbued with the Anglo-Saxon point of view, are too apt to overestimate the political capacities of other

racess whose standpoint may, without being actually antagonistic, be different, a fact which renders them quite incapable, under existing circumstances, of working in a manner likely to prove to be to their highest advantage a system of government which no one disputes is ideally the best, but which, good as it is, may, in certain circumstances, prove decidedly the worst. Mill, in the very opening chapter of his treatise on "Representative Government," lays it down as an axiom that "no one believes that every people is capable of working every sort of institutions." A careful examination of the existing political and economic conditions of Eastern peoples should, however, further demonstrate whether, quite apart from the question of mere capability, they are yet ready to receive the advantages of this ideally best form of government, and whether, even if they are ready, it is the best form just yet for their immediate political requirements.

II

The late Professor Butcher, in one of his brilliantly illuminating works, very truly remarks that "from the dawn of history Eastern politics have been *stricken with a fatal simplicity*." Needless to say, this unflattering description is particularly applicable to the fundamental principle upon which the political and economic fabric common to Eastern communities is built. Commenting upon the assertion made by Professor Butcher, the Earl of Cromer writes :

"Do not let us for one moment imagine that the fatally simple idea of despotic rule will readily give way to the far more complex conception of ordered liberty. The transformation, if it ever takes place at all, will probably be the work, not of generations, but of centuries." Yet there is no lack of intellectuality and potential educative energy among the peoples of the East, while as an aid towards the complete fruition of their native intelligence, all the civilizing influences of Western Europe lie ready to their hands. Nay, further, it is not only in Eastern countries themselves,

where replicas of our institutions for the primary, secondary and higher education of the natives have been founded and endowed, that enlightenment may be acquired by the natives, but practically all the schools and universities of Western Europe have thrown open their doors to them, and not only welcome them to attend upon an equal footing with Europeans, but in many cases they have gone out of their way to accord them special privileges and facilities for the better acquirement of a liberal education. This should have a vastly broadening influence upon the minds of those to whom such opportunities are open, and they being largely drawn from the governing, journalistic, and professional classes, that influence ought to be continually filtering downwards, gradually leavening the masses and tending to fit them for the reception of such liberal principles as are embodied in the term "Representative Government." And, in point of fact, recent years have actually shown a distinct tendency in the Eastern world in the direction of so-called Republicanism. Turkey, Persia, and China has each in turn had its "Revolution," its "Young Liberal" enthusiasm, and its paper Constitution. But, alas! to the student of Oriental politics it is already too well known that the net result of them all has in each case been simply the substitution of one despotism for another. The past history of the East is full of such upheavals, but it is only with the advent of the twentieth century that it has become the fashion to call the new *régime* by the name of "Republic."

With regard to China, which at present is fairly typical of a liberalizing Eastern community, the opinion of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, who has said that "the East has an extraordinary faculty of assimilating all the worst features of any new civilization with which it is brought in contact," while ignoring its virtues, is amply confirmed by Mr. J. O. P. Bland, whose book entitled, "Recent Events and Present Policies in China," published in 1912, brings the subject practically up to date. "Where Young China," he

says, "has cast off the ethical restraints and patriotic morality of Confucianism, it has failed to assimilate, or even to understand, the moral foundations of Europe's civilization. It has exchanged its old lamp for a new, but it has not found the oil which the new vessel needs to lighten the darkness withal."

And we have it on the high authority of no less a personage than Prince Ito, that "the sentiments of foreign educated Young China are hopelessly out of touch with the masses." Yet, while they have utterly failed to acquire from our civilization anything at all likely to enhance the prospects of the political and economic regeneration of the Empire, they have been ever too ready to adopt much of the evil. "The inauguration of the Republican idea of constitutional government in China," writes Mr. Bland, "can only mean, in the present state of the people, continual transference of an illegal despotism from one group of political adventurers to another, the pretence of popular representation serving merely to increase and perpetuate instability."

Another, and not the least important, factor which must be taken into account in an investigation of this character is the difference of ideals common to the peoples of Eastern and Western nations. No amount of intercourse with European peoples, or study in our educational institutions, with their consequent tendency to the growth of Western culture amongst such as have thus been privileged, has ever succeeded in eliminating from the minds of even the most adaptive Orientals the ideals and points of view of their race, religion, and caste.

And when one considers the fact that popular representation, even in England, probably on the whole the most democratically governed of any nation in the world, is a thing not of to-day or of yesterday, but the material result and survival of centuries of internecine strife, and of long political and economic evolution, and that it is even here still a very imperfect and incomplete philosophical idea, one may be permitted to doubt whether even the

most intellectually advanced portions, not of China alone, but of any other part of the Orient whatever, may be considered as yet being even approximately ready to receive the most modified system of that mode of government. The principles and methods of Representative Government, as we know it to-day, embody the accumulated habits and traditions of numberless generations of individuals in whom the genius for political thought and legislative activity has long been inherent. The Oriental, on the other hand, has never known any other form of government than that of the strong hand of despotism and absolutism, and under it he has developed habits of political indifference and mental passivity, added to which is a spirit of indolence and fatalism, doubly intensified by the peculiar tenets of his religious beliefs. Thus it is, as Mr. Bland so aptly concludes, that with the problematical exception of Canton and the Kuang Provinces, "China, as every educated Chinese knows (unless, like Sun Yat-Sen, he has been brought up abroad), the idea of rapidly transforming the masses of the population into an intelligent electorate, and of making a Chinese Parliament the expression of their collective political vitality, is a vain dream, possible only for those who ignore the inherent character of the Chinese people."

With the simple alteration of the names of the country and people, this passage might well be taken as a description of any Oriental race, the Japanese perhaps alone excepted.

(To be continued.)

"LORD READING'S TASK IN INDIA": A CRITICISM

SIR,

In the April issue appeared, in answer to Mr. Rice, the most powerful, because the most reasonable, attack on Western civilization as it affects India that I have yet seen, and would almost justify Mr. Gandhi's ideas, though not his methods of carrying them out. Mr. Lalitmohan Singh's account of the inevitable result of trade with Europe and the equalization of prices all over the world is a terrible tragedy. I have

always argued that a good steady market, like London, must be a good thing for the ryot who has a real surplus to dispose of; but for the rest—that is, the great bulk—the enormous rise in prices which he describes is a calamity, and apparently the only remedy is a corresponding rise in the wages of labour, as to which he gives us no information. He says that up to the time of our arrival “the Indians were enjoying a sound sleep in their comparative abundance and superfluities.” He does not mention the fact that, owing to constant internal strife after the collapse of the Mogul Empire (only two hundred years ago), and the ravages of Mahrattas, Pindaries, and even Thugs, land in the extreme south, at any rate, had ceased to have any saleable value, because no one could be sure of reaping his crop. It is true that the opening up of India created a world demand for her produce; but the same thing happened to America and Japan, and they are supposed to have benefited enormously by the change, though in Japan, at least, the sudden rise in prices must have been equally disastrous to the poorer classes.

He says nothing of famine in the olden time, when people often died of starvation within one hundred miles of “superfluities” simply for want of any means of communication. He calls the trade which has sprung up between such villages and provinces the “exploitation” of one by the other; but that is an unfair way of stating the case, and “development” is a truer word than “exploitation” even in international commerce. At the same time it is impossible to deny that for the poor such trade produces hardship to begin with till wages rise to suit; and even then it is quite arguable that Mr. Gandhi was right in thinking that it was better for the country when everyone ploughed his own land and made his own clothes. However that may be, it is pretty certain the world will never go back to that Golden Age—if it was so golden—and we must do the best we can with things as they are. I cannot help thinking that his own critic exaggerated the superiority of the English over the Indian merchant. It is some years since I was in Bombay, but I was told that all the best houses on Malabar Hill are occupied by Indian, not English, merchants, much less, too, English officials. I agree with him that it would be better if more of the produce of India were consumed by its own people; but it is unfortunately true that in no country can the poor afford the better sort of food, or even as much as they would like of any food. Its usurers have always been a feature of Indian (and agricultural) life everywhere, and co-operative banks, of which there is no mention in this paper, seem to be the only feasible remedy.

It is not true, of course, that *all* the profits of trade go to Europe or other foreign countries, or that Indians are only employed as “clerks or coolies.” Such exaggerations spoil an otherwise thought-provoking paper; and we ought to have been told something as to the actual rise in wages in the last fifty years.

J. B. PENNINGTON, I.C.S. (ret'd.)

[N.B.—For previous contributions on this subject see July, 1921, p. 386, and January, 1922.]

RAI LALITMOHAN SINGH ROY BAHADUR.

"SHINAR OF THE OLD TESTAMENT"

THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN
ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

April 5, 1922.

To the Editor of THE ASIATIC REVIEW

SIR,

The statements of the writer of the article entitled "Shinar of the Old Testament" in the April number of your review, that "most modern Assyriologists with unwarranted licence transcribe these signs of TIN. TIR. as *Bab-ili* or Babylon," and that the late Professor L. W. King "arbitrarily transcribes these signs systematically" (*sic*), deserve some attention: Your contributor states outright that these signs "possess no such values." The Babylonian scribes, whose authority Professor King was content to accept, were quite certain that they did, since they used the "arbitrary" transcription (see Brünnow, "List of Cuneiform Ideographs," No. 9,858; and compare Meissner, "Seltene assyrische Ideogramme," No. 7,484).

The competence of your contributor to pass criticism on scholars like Professor King and M. Thureau-Dangin, whom he also includes in his censure, may be judged from the following facts. The Babylonian scribes themselves believed the signs to be TIN and TIR (see Meissner, No. 7,485). They considered the signs to be an ideogram, meaning "the abode of life." "The great tower of Grain and Wine" is a pure effort of the creative imagination. Babylonian temple towers were solid constructions of brickwork, which could not possibly be used as storehouses. The Hebrews were not the people who first "misrepresented and embroidered with fiction" the origin of the Tower of Babel. The miraculous circumstances which led to the building of Esagila and E-temen-an-ki by the divine Anunnaki are described at length in the Sixth Tablet of the Creation Epic (see Budge, "Babylonian Legend of the Creation," pp. 57-62). A more mischievous and equally groundless assertion is that the city name "She-nir" for Babylon is found in early Sumerian documents of about 2950 B.C. "She-nir" (properly TIR) does not mean Babylon; TIN. TIR. KI is used in documents of the new Babylonian period only, and does not occur in early Sumerian documents. The excellent illustrations which accompany the article have no effect on the argument whatever; the sign TIR alone of course occurs in all periods. The discovery that the sign TIR is a compound of ŠE and NIR is no discovery; it has long been common property (see Delitzsch, "Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems," 136), and is indeed obvious. That it is to be read *She-nir* is demonstrably false. TIN in the practice of Babylonian scribes is always to be read *tin* or *din* if used with a phonetic value. The peculiarities of usage by certain local scribes at Ctesarea (Mazaca) about 2250 B.C. have nothing to do with the ideogram TIN. TIR. KI used by new Babylonian scribes from 600 B.C. onwards. Whatever be the origin of Shin'ar, which your contributor quaintly transcribes *Sh-n-ar*, it is not to be found in the non-existent *ŠE-She-Nir* which he has evolved; and to connect the latter with the Hittite god Teshub (not Tishe) is even more fanciful. The Accadian name of Babylon was *Bab-ili*, "the gate of God" (not "place of

the gate of God"). It was not normally spelt Bab-il-lu, as he supposes; if such a spelling does occur, it is merely a scribal vagary.

Were it necessary to say more, we might explain the excellent and numerous grounds Assyriologists can adduce for being quite certain that KA. DINGIR. RA is to be so read, and for holding to the perfectly satisfactory identification of Heb. *Kasdim* with Assyrian *Kaldu*; but we cannot suppose that any of your readers will be misled by a writer capable of the errors already exposed, and of making such errors the basis for censure upon acknowledged experts.

We have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servants,

SIDNEY SMITH,

C. J. GADD.

MR. SITARAM'S PAPER ON INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

(See pp. 386-406)

SIR,

The author of this paper has made some strong accusations of vandalism against British officers in India in the matter of their treatment of Hindu architectural remains—accusations which cannot be allowed to pass without comment. He bases his complaint, apparently, on some special instances which have come to his notice.

In certainly three of his specific instances, as I proceed to show, his assertions are totally inaccurate:

1. He writes: "The representatives of an enlightened Government" [that is to say, the British Government] ". . . saw to it that . . . the marbles and remains of some at least of the Krishna stupas found a due place in furnishing lime and road-paving." I am personally acquainted with one instance of the sort of thing he refers to, since I was at the time of its occurrence, thirty-six years ago, acting as Collector of the Krishna District. I never heard of any other, and I believe there never was another.

At Bhattiprolu, a village not far from the Krishna River, stood at that time a mass of heavy brickwork, almost shapeless, though roughly circular, near to which, lying about uncared for, were a few sculptured marble slabs. An English engineer officer, finding it necessary to repair the sluice of a canal (which was of great value to the agriculturists of the neighbourhood and was in serious danger), and, being in want of material, made careful inquiry amongst the Hindu residents, village officers, Brahmans and elders, and ascertained that, whatever the original structure might have been, it belonged to an age and faith now quite forgotten; that it was looked upon as a rubbish-heap, from which anybody always took what he wanted, and that no one living had any interest in it. The officer therefore thought no harm in taking some of the bricks and some of the stones for the required repairs. No stone was burnt for lime, nor was any used for road-making.

The incident coming to my notice not long afterwards, I at once reported it to Government with some strong remarks, begging that all officers should be warned against acting in similar manner. The necessary orders were accordingly issued, and the disapproval of the Government unmistakably expressed.

2. Another instance of British vandalism referred to by Mr. Sitaram is the alleged destruction of the stone car in a temple at Vijayanagar. His assertion is that "Vijayanagar possessed . . . till recently a stone car till the attention of the local Collector was drawn to it."

Here, again, I am in a position to give a full explanation, since I am evidently the "Collector" whose conduct is found so reprehensible.

This car, which stands in the open, exposed to all weathers, is structural, not monolithic. It originally supported a *sikhara*, or tall superstructure of brick and plaster, resembling the tower of a temple or a pinnacle in stages. This *sikhara* having by the year 1883 almost disappeared owing to centuries of weathering, an engineer officer in the employ of the Archæological Department sought for, and obtained, permission to restore it. A subordinate of that department carried out the work in brick and plaster. Several years later—I think in 1891—being then Collector of the District, I visited Vijayanagar in company with Mr. C. J. Peters, of the Public Works Department—an officer of great ability, long experience, and one who took the keenest interest in the antiquities of India. We were greatly concerned to find that the entire body of the car was disintegrating, and that the stones of which it was built were cracking in all directions. Gaps were widening, and it was evident that this interesting monument was in danger of collapse. After careful examination Mr. Peters decided that it could only be saved by first removing the newly added superincumbent weight of brick, and, secondly, by pinning the slabs of stone together, supporting the heavy roofing stone, and shoring up the whole.

Permission being obtained from the Government, this work was carried out, the supporting metal-work being as far as possible concealed from view; and when I left India in 1894 I had the satisfaction of feeling that I had saved the car from otherwise inevitable destruction. Mr. Sitaram considers me guilty of vandalism for my action in the matter. He is welcome to his opinion, but I am happy to think that not many reasonable people will agree with him.

3. Mr. Sitaram contrasts favourably the buildings of the High Court of Judicature at Madras with those of the Presidency College. He states that the latter are characteristic of the "æsthetics of the Public Works Department. "What a contrast!" he writes. "The High Court is an ornament as viewed from the beach and a thing of beauty, with its light rotating and flashing,* and its domes scintillating against a glorious tropical sky." This magnificent edifice, he tells us, "owed its inspiration chiefly to an *Indian master-builder*." Hence his rhapsody. This is, indeed, news to me. I happen to know that the designer and architect was an Englishman, an old friend of mine, who had deeply studied Hindu and Muhammadan architecture, especially the style called "Indo-Saracenic." His name was ROBERT FELLOWES CHISHOLM, for many years Government architect, Madras, and lately deceased. His designs had been on exhibition in the Royal Academy in London. I am glad that the lecturer so greatly admires this proof of Mr. Chisholm's genius.

R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETD.).

* What has that to do with the architecture?

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

THE "SIBYLLINE BOOKS" OF INDIA*

BY STANLEY RICE

INDIA is the land of mystery. Out of the darkness of centuries she looms, a veiled, indistinct figure, holding out to us Sibylline scrolls for us to make of them what we can. The riddle, indeed, seemed insoluble. Dark, mystic sayings of ancient sages, interwoven with the sagas of bygone kings and the mythological lore of the gods—all put together with no regard to the orderly sequence of time or even to the insistent demands of probability—presented such a tangled skein of narrative as defied the very Muse of History to unravel. And now at last the patient labours of her sworn servants have to some extent sorted the ravelled threads, and have lifted a corner of the veil beneath which the mystic form of ancient India was hidden. Now at last, with some semblance of probability, we catch glimpses of those ancient States that flourished with a polity all their own; of those ancient sages who wandered through the forests in search of truth, or stood at the king's right hand to advise; of that toiling, patient folk who through the centuries have come down to us almost unchanged, to show us in their lives of every day what were the lives of the dead past; even of those noble women upon whom the shadow of seclusion had not yet fallen in a vain attempt to keep them untouched by the follies and the frailties of mankind; and, finally, of a vast land, with its changing rivers and its unchanging hills, with its widespread plains and its impenetrable jungles.

So hopeless seemed the quest, so inextricable the tangle, that for a long time scholars despaired of obtaining anything so coherent as to deserve the name of "history." Pale shadows of kings that were no more than a name flitted across the page, yet soon so shrouded in the mists of mythology and extravagance that their forms could scarcely be discerned. For such obscurity we have to

* "The Cambridge Indian History." Edited by Professor Rapson. Cambridge University Press. 425.

thank the chroniclers of those ancient times. The history of India, as of so many other countries, began with the sagas of court poets, whose business it was to praise their patrons, and often to attribute to them, with the exuberance of Oriental fancy, divine and even miraculous origins and deeds of prowess that belonged of right to their ancestors or their successors. And when the records fell into the hands of Brahmins the confusion became worse confounded. We need not blame them over much. The world and its doings were of small account in their eyes; if the doctrine of Maya had not as yet been formulated, at least these ancient sages acted upon its implications, and to them the vast questionings of the Unseen, the instinctive desire of man to investigate both the origin of natural phenomena and the unknown destinies of the future, counted far more than the mere narrative of the doings of ephemeral princes and the structure of the temporary kingdoms over which they ruled. "Literatures controlled by Brahmans or by Jain or Buddhist monks must naturally represent systems of faith rather than nationalities. They must deal with thought rather than with action, with ideas rather than with events." Hence, "as records of political progress, they are deficient. By their aid alone it would be impossible to sketch the outline of the political history of any of the nations of India before the Muhammadan conquest."

That is the verdict of Professor Rapson, and if history had been content to rely upon these records alone and had continued to hold that her only function was to investigate political systems and to record the battles of warring peoples or of ambitious princes, we should have had to rest content with that verdict. Fortunately we have travelled beyond this conception. It is a commonplace of to-day, yet the discovery of yesterday, that the record of ancient documents may be checked and supplemented by the evidence from other sources, chief among them being coins, monuments, and inscriptions. And it is to-day recognized that history is not solely concerned with the military expeditions of conquerors, with the rise and downfall of States, or even with the political problems of their constitutions, but with the structure of society, with the lives, the occupations, the customs, and the pleasures of the people, with the development of their literature and their art, and with the progress of their legal and religious systems.

For some obscure reason the ancient history of India has attracted the ordinary man less than that of the bygone

empires of Egypt and Assyria. One would have supposed that the early development of a people with whose fate our own has been so intimately bound up for 150 years would have been of special interest to the Englishman. For the English have had unrivalled opportunities for such a study. No nation has had such easy access to the records; no nation has lived in such close intimacy with one of the most conservative peoples on the earth—a people whose habits closely correspond to-day with what we know of those habits 3,000 years ago. Yet interest in India, except in times of stirring excitement, has always been weak in England. That which Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee sadly admitted the other day was proclaimed by Macaulay in the House of Commons in 1833. "The House," he declared, ". . . is as far as ever from being a representative of the Indian people. A broken head in Cold Bath Fields produces a greater sensation among us than three pitched battles in India."

Yet perhaps Macaulay was himself to blame for this apathy and this ignorance of the English people. In 1835, in his famous Education Minute, he poured scorn upon the entire content of Sanskrit and Arabic literature, and by his fiery eloquence he won the victory for the cause of English education in India. Many results have flowed from that victory; many have been beneficial, some have doubtless been harmful. The controversy has not yet ceased, but it has not generally been reckoned amongst the adverse influences that the scorn of such a man as Macaulay, reflecting surely what others felt who were without his gift of expression, must have gone far to discourage the study of Sanskrit and Arabic. "To encourage the study," he exclaimed, "of a literature admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved." To Macaulay the sacred literature of the Hindus taught men merely "how to purify themselves after touching an ass, or what text of the *Vedas* they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat." The only History to be extracted was monstrous tales of "kings 30 feet high and reigns 30,000 years long"; the only Geography fairy tales of "seas of treacle and seas of butter."

Can it then be wondered at that the study of Sanskrit has been regarded as the province of the learned who,

if they chose to waste their time over such extravagances, were welcome to do so? Obsessed with the glories of Greek literature, as the musical world was obsessed with the superiority of the German School, cultivated men, to whom Achilles and Agamemnon, Œdipus and Medea were almost household words, were ignorant that embedded in the classical Sanskrit were conceptions of women such as Sita and Draupadi, Vasantasena, and Sakuntala, to whom Antigone and Penelope alone among Greek heroines can compare for tender grace and passionate devotion. Or if they had at least heard the names they were none the wiser and did not care to pursue the subject. Nor was this all. By educating the native of India in English and by relegating Sanskrit knowledge to the pundits, we did away with any incentive to learn the language, and so, except the few who have made it a pleasant recreation, there are now none who know or care to study the classical Sanskrit. Had the Orientalists had their way, had the teaching of Sanskrit prevailed over that of English, who can doubt that professors would have arisen in England eager to preach in Indian schools, and thereby perhaps have created a renaissance in England comparable to the Renaissance of Greek and Latin in the fifteenth century? This is not to say that Macaulay was not right in his ultimate judgment, that the benefits which have flowed to India from the teaching of English have not far outweighed its disadvantages; but it was a shallow judgment, only excused by the ignorance of the time that saw nothing of social and political life to be gleaned by scholarship from the mass of writings handed down to us by Brahman, Jain and Buddhist, and that contemptuously relegated the whole library to extravagant mythology and incredible fairy tale.

Yet if modern scholarship has accomplished much, much still remains to be done. The framework of all history, as Dr. Vincent Smith has pointed out, is chronology; without dates, the bugbear of schoolboys and of loose or lazy thinkers, we are as a ship without a compass. Owen Wister, in a recent book, has put the point fantastically. "Suppose," he says in effect, "someone were to make the assertion that Magna Charta was signed in 1066 by Edward III. on the Field of the Cloth of Gold in the presence of Sir Walter Raleigh, what should we think of it?" Yet that is the kind of confusion that arises and has actually arisen in Indian History in the absence of dates. Brahman historians have confused kings of the same name, living at periods far apart, they have confounded

historical with mythological persons; they have transferred historical events from one locality to another; and they have freely turned history into fable to point some edifying moral.

Lastly, the very dates of the records themselves are still undecided, and with them the historical value of such records. There was a time when the Puranas were held to belong to so late an era as the eleventh century A.D., but Dr. Vincent Smith tells us that they were authoritative, even in the fourth century B.C., and Mr. Pargiter suggests that some of them may be placed anywhere between the fifth and seventh centuries B.C. It is obvious that a difference in date amounting to a period nearly as long as the Christian era must leave considerable doubt as to the value of the record: a contemporary account of the destruction of Pompeii has a very different value from that of one written yesterday and based upon oral tradition.

The single clear date that stands out in ancient Indian history is that of the rise of the Mauryan Empire under Chandragupta. The happy discovery by Sir William Jones that this emperor was identical with the Sandracottus of Greek historians, has enabled scholars confidently to ascribe to him a date corresponding within a year or two to 320 B.C., and we are fortunate in that "the establishment of a single paramount power in Hindustan, embracing a part even of the country south of the Vindhya mountains . . . supplies a unity which previously was lacking," and with the foundation of this dynasty "begins the period of continuous history in India." We have, of course, in the episode of Alexander the Great—for although the intrusion of the Greeks into the extreme north-west and the border lands of India continued for some centuries, it has had but little effect on the manners, customs, and institutions of India—we have in this episode a far more coherent narrative, coupled with more definite dates, than can be found in anything preceding it. But this episode only takes us back a few years, and we must be content at present to admit that everything prior to 300 B.C. is only in the conjectural stage.

This it is which to some extent detracts from the volume which the savants have just given to the world under the ægis of Cambridge University. So much of the earlier part of the book is taken up with critical dissertations on the value of the evidence, with argumentative discussions of old theories and the enunciation of new ones, and even with lives of saints like Mahavira, that the reader is obliged

to grope for any coherent narrative such as we expect in history. The plan, too, which Lord Acton favoured of writing history in chapters allotted to specialists in particular subjects is not without its disadvantages, for though the interrelation of the chapters is, on the whole, admirably sustained, and there are no violent contrasts of style, yet each is perhaps inclined to dwell overmuch on the detail of his subject, to the injury of the whole perspective. It may be added that, few as are the pages allotted to Ceylon, no Indian would really include that island at all in his national history, while the references to India in Greek and Roman writers, interesting as they are in themselves, do not very materially assist us to a knowledge of ancient Indian history.

What, then, has historical science to tell us of this ancient people? And what are the lessons we may draw from this encyclopædic work? The great central fact which emerges is that India was divided into two great parts, roughly separated by the line of the Vindhya—roughly, because in that part of India dealt with by the early records certain western states south of that line are mentioned, and the narrow coast strip called Kalinga on the east stretches well into what is now the Madras Presidency. So little do we know of the earliest kingdoms of the far south that the whole stock of scientific knowledge is compressed into some ten pages. Over the north, then stretching from Gandhara on the borders of Afghanistan to Kalinga on the Bay of Bengal, there were numerous tribal kingdoms, warring with one another as the eternal custom of man has been, and coming into prominence in turn as the wheel of Fortune slowly revolved, and brought uppermost now Ayodhya, now Videha, now Magadha. We grope in vain for any clear picture of the political relations of these early States, but emerge into comparative light when we turn to social organization. We are able to trace the gradual development of caste from the war of the fair against the blacks and the early signs of division into priests, princes, and commons, to the addition of the Sudras and the subdivision of the two lower castes into "an ever-increasing number of endogamous hereditary groups practising one occupation, or at least restricted to a small number of occupations."

It was an amazing Society for those early times. At the head stood the king and ruler, if not of an empire as we know it, often of a considerable and well-organized kingdom, with a modified form of primitive village self-government, to which uncritical enthusiasts have sometimes applied the

magniloquent word, "democracy." The principal officers of the household commanded the troops and superintended the treasury; there was also one particular functionary whose duties seem to have combined judicial and executive functions. Agriculture was then, as now, the main pursuit, and irrigation and the use of manure were not unknown. The people lived in houses of wood, and dressed, it seems, chiefly in woollen garments. For the science of medicine, however, they showed little aptitude, and soon sank to the stage of mere superstition and magic.

And apart from, and yet interwoven with, this daily life of the people, with the quarrels and the justice of princes, with the chariot-racing and dice games of the Court, with the ploughing of the peasant and the industries of weavers, potters, and smiths, was the religious life of the ascetics and of the great philosophical thinkers. Life was not all Elysian. The world was seen to be but temporary, superficial, and a great longing arose to know the Unknowable and to find eternal rest from present existence. But it was only to the pure that this was vouchsafed, and for the attainment of purity men must pass through many transmigrations. Hence arose the doctrine of Karma, which determines at death the nature of the new birth.

Later on there are distinct traces of the influence of aboriginal cult. Elaborate rules are framed to appease the goblins of disease and disaster, rules the observance of which at the present day are the marvel of the foreigner. The ancient ceremony of marriage is still performed, and the defilement of caste by eating and touching the unclean, still one of the prominent features of caste, is indicated. In these minute formularies for the orderly conduct of individual life these Grihya Sutras are reminiscent of Leviticus, though they go far beyond it, not only in scope but in respect of magical rites and incantations. The astonishing thing is that much of the ritual and many of the superstitions have persisted to this day. The Sutras, we are told, inculcate the use of amulets; to-day you may see a man who has been bitten by a snake with a bracelet of straw or grass on his wrist, firmly persuaded that this alone has preserved his life at least until he can reach a more substantial remedy.

Truly a wonderful civilization, were we not accustomed to look to Asia for all the best examples of these early civilizations. Yet how far has it progressed? Here is an account of England in the thirteenth century, which might have been written of India to-day or perhaps any time

during the last 3,000 years, with the alteration of one or two words peculiar to the English social system :

" Picking our way slowly along the road which, if it be not one of the great trunk routes maintained for the passage of the royal armies, is probably a mere track in the forest. we arrive at last at the village of which we are in search. The cottages of the peasants are huddled together in the centre, and we notice at once how roughly they are built and how they all appear of much the same size. Perhaps a larger house, built of brick and timber instead of wattle and clay, and roofed with shingles instead of thatch, marks the dwelling of the bailiff; possibly another substantial house is the rectory. . . . Mayhap the church . . . stands in the centre of the village. . . .

" The first thing that strikes us is the absence of . . . hedges. In their places we see only great balks or strips of unploughed turf, under which sheep are lazily feeding . . . the fields are left entirely open, being merely intersected by wandering footpaths . . . and all the winter the fields of the village are as open as a chessboard. Beyond the arable . . . there is fairly sure to be a wide expanse of scrub and woodland, which shuts the village off from the outer world, and which provides rough food for its humbler inmates. . . .

" Oxen are cheaper to work than horses. . . . Each villager of the better sort has his yoke of oxen. . . . As to the ploughs . . . there have been ploughs in the village from time immemorial, and when they need repair they are mended by the village carpenter or the village smith, who in turn receives a certain amount of corn from each of the husbandmen. . . . The oxen and sheep of the villagers feed together on the common wastes; and are looked after not by their respective owners, but by officials acting on behalf of the village as a whole. . . . In the rare event of any new departure from the traditional arrangements the matter is discussed by the villagers gathered around the moot-tree."

Yet, perhaps, if we smile at this unprogressive picture, we shall find that we ourselves have not travelled so very far on the road to civilization except in material things. "What doth the Lord require of thee," said Micah, "but to do justly and to love mercy?" and that has been the ideal of all nations at all times.

When we reach the invasions of Alexander the Great we seem to have emerged from the rocks and shoals and fogs into a clear and open sea. With the compass of

chronology and the chart of ascertained history to guide him Mr. Bevan had a congenial task in describing that wonderful adventure. Like a meteor Alexander rushed across the Indian sky and like a meteor has left no traces behind him. The phrase is used in its broadest sense. For a while no doubt his great Hellenic Empire did remain on the extreme north-west and even extended for some distance into India proper, but so sublimely unconscious were the great Indian kingdoms of the interior that the great Greek conqueror is not even mentioned in the records of the time. Archæologists have shown the traces of Hellenic influence upon architecture and sculpture; critics, especially German critics, have endeavoured to prove, not without indignant opposition, that Hindu drama is indebted to Greece for its form and its conceptions; and the likeness of the ancient Hindu modes to what we know of the Greek has suggested at least a suspicion that there was some affinity in music also, due to the intercommunication of the peoples. But these things are conjectural. Like the Romans in Britain, the Greeks left little impress upon the country, except in the architecture, though to us they have bequeathed in their coins and in their records priceless material for the reconstruction of history.

And so we come to the great Maurya Empire of the north, with the two outstanding figures of Chandragupta, the founder of the dynasty, and of Asoka, the warrior saint, converted, it is said, to justice and mercy by the horrors of the slaughter he himself had caused. Here we have reached a stage where we have the invaluable testimony of Megasthenes to guide us, to be used discriminately by the critical historian. Civilization had advanced, towns had sprung up; the country consisted of a regular series of human aggregations, from the primitive and everlasting village through country towns, provincial capitals, and great cities, to the climax in the seat of the royal government. Roads there were and even drains, strictly guarded against contamination: even municipal regulations which betoken the complexity of society. Trade was active and merchandize came in from beyond the sea, pearls from South India and Ceylon, muslin, cotton, and silk from China and Further India. We begin to see more clearly the evolution of modern caste with its infinite ramifications determined by occupation; we begin to see the life of the people, much as it is to-day, sober and frugal at most times, extravagant, and even mildly licentious at the time of festivals.

Here we must leave ancient India in the glory of her first political unity. For if the Maurya Empire, including the outlying provinces, could not be called more than a federation of States, attached to the royal nucleus by ties of varying strength, at least it shows us that India was, and therefore still is, capable of political unity. We have said "and therefore still is," well knowing that critics may advance arguments based upon the mighty changes of centuries, the influx of Islam, the extension of the Empire to the south, and the tendency of race and language to split into well-defined branches. And we have not forgotten that undiscerning enthusiasts may fasten upon the phrase with the triumphant assertion of nationality. We cannot ignore these mighty changes which have so deeply influenced the continent of India, but we believe that her institutions are so deeply rooted, and her character so unchanging, that there is no reason to despair that what was possible then is possible now. For amid all the irruptions from the north-west, amid the strife of kings and the speculations of sages, amid the changes of constitutions and of economic conditions, the life of the people has persisted as, perhaps, nowhere else in the world except China. When the famous New Zealander is sketching the ruins of St. Paul's, the Indian ryot will be found placidly tilling his field, perhaps even in the sight of armies as in the time of Megasthenes.

We take leave of ancient India. We have laboriously pushed our craft through the shoals and the currents, and the thickets which abound at the source, and we have emerged upon the broad stream of authentic history. When next we take up the theme, that stream will grow ever broader until it merges at last with the ocean of a World Empire.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN THE DAYS OF CHARLES II. A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company. Vol. VI. 1660 to 1663. By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury. With Introduction and Notes by William Foster, C.I.E. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.)

The five previous volumes of this invaluable Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company covered the period from 1635 to 1659. At the commencement of the triennium from 1660 to 1663, which is here dealt with, we find the entire management of the trade in the hands of the "New General Stock," which had been started in 1657, upon the grant of a new charter from Cromwell. Things were in a bad way, both politically and commercially, and it must have been with deep sincerity that in the Court Minutes of May 17, 1660, a reference is made to the fact that "these are now times of healing." The allusion is, of course, to the Restoration of Charles II., to whom an address of congratulation was presented, together with a gift of silver plate to the value of £3,000. The question of obtaining a new charter was next taken up, and this was granted on April 3, 1661. It was largely a repetition of the patent issued by James I. in 1609; but an interesting new fact emerges in that the Committee resolved, on May 15, 1661, to obtain Parliamentary confirmation of their privileges. It would seem that doubts were felt as to the King's power to act by royal charter; but however this may be, nothing appears to have been done beyond the submission of a draft Bill to the King. The Commons Journals contain no record of the introduction of the Bill. The next item of importance relates to the part played by the Company in the disputes with the Dutch, which led up to the second war of 1665-1667. Some of the documents are now printed for the first time. We see how the Netherlands had largely taken the place of Spain as the national enemy, and how every proposal for diminishing the Dutch power was eagerly welcomed. The controversy in which the Company was principally concerned centred in the island of Pulo Run, in the Banda Archipelago. This island had been restored to the English by the Treaty of Westminster in 1654; but financial stringency had prevented any attempt to take possession of it. No eagerness was shown by the Dutch to hand it over; and the island had not been surrendered when the volume closes, much to the indignation of the Company. Had they realized it, however, a far richer prize was coming to them. The year 1661 brought Bombay by dowry to the British Crown; and it is curious to note that when the Company were approached in October of that year with a suggestion that men and shipping should be sent out at their own charge, and that, at any rate, a portion of the expense should be borne by them, an unfavourable reply was given. Their reluctance was not overcome until they discovered that their trade mono-

poly was likely to be endangered if they stood aloof; and eventually terms were arranged with the Commissioners of the Navy. But the initiative remained with the Government; and it was under their directions that a squadron of five ships set sail for Bombay in the autumn of 1662. James Ley, third Earl of Marlborough, was placed in command, and Sir Abraham Shipman was sent out on board with a force of 500 men to take possession and to remain as Governor on behalf of the Crown. A dispute, however, arose with the Portuguese as to whether the word "Bombay," as mentioned in the treaty, signified the island only, or included the dependencies of Bassein, Salsette, and Thana in addition. The result was that the Portuguese Governor refused to hand over the island until he had received further instructions from Lisbon; and Marlborough was obliged to land Shipman and his soldiers on the island of Anjediva, near Goa, where they speedily began to sicken. The later history lies beyond the scope of the volume, but it may be briefly told. In 1664 the force was transferred to Fort St. George, in view of the war with Holland; but by the end of that year Shipman and a large proportion of his men were dead. When at last a landing was effected in Bombay, in March, 1665, only 1 officer and 113 men had survived. By 1668 the Company had awakened to the importance of owning a fortified stronghold on the West Coast, and Bombay, with the whole of its military stores, was made over to them in return for a yearly rent of £10. The work of strengthening the defences was proceeded with, and in 1683-84 Bombay became the headquarters of the Company in India. In 1661, however, the Presidency was at Surat, Sir George Oxenden being appointed to that office in October.

An entry of December 18 of that year furnishes particulars of the various factories. Sir Edward Winter had already been selected as chief on the Coromandel Coast at Madras. William Blake is now "entertained as chief for the Bay" of Bengal; Philip Gifford, at Rajapur (on the West Coast) who was later on taken prisoner by Sivaji, receives an increase in salary from £10 to £20 a year; and "Streynsham Maisters" and Gerald Aungier are "entertained for Suratt," at £30 a year each. In an earlier entry of October 11, 1661, mention occurs of the name of Job Charnock, "factor in the Bay," and of factories at Bantam, Masulipatam, Petapoli, and Viravasaram. The headquarters in the Bay were, of course, at Hooghly. As regards the Malabar coast, we read how in November, 1661, the Dutch captured Quilon, and so embarked upon their scheme for ousting the Portuguese from the pepper ports. Cranganore was stormed early in January, 1662; Cochin capitulated at the end of December; and by February, 1663, the Portuguese had lost Cannanore, their last foothold on the coast. These operations adversely affected the English company, which had established factories at Karwar, Porakad (about forty miles south of Cochin), and Old Kayal (near Tuticorin); and the climax was reached when the Dutch, in March, 1663, compelled the Rajas of Cochin and Porakad to sign treaties which gave them complete control of the pepper produced in those districts. Matters of historical value such as these are sandwiched between a multitude of topics of commercial and minor interest; and Mr. Foster, in his admirably lucid introduction,

affords ample assistance in their discovery. The task of calendaring has been discharged by Miss Sainsbury with that care and thoroughness to which students of the former volumes are already accustomed.

THE DRINK AND DRUG EVIL IN INDIA. By Badrul Hassan. With Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. (Madras: *Ganesh and Co.*) 1922.

(Reviewed by JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., LL.D.)

Not for nothing does Mr. Gandhi support Mr. Badrul's book on the drink and drug rule in India.

Mr. Gandhi believes that British rule in India is a bad rule, and that the English system of Government is a curse, and Mr. Badrul has done his best to prove this. In his preface Mr. Gandhi contends that, though the vice of drinking and drug-taking is an old one in India, Government has "trafficked in these two vices" of the people.

But an attentive perusal of Mr. Badrul's book shows that Government has only done this by abolishing the out-still system, and by putting a stop to smuggling and unlicensed trading.

This is a strange way of trafficking in the vices and organizing the corruption of the people! Mr. Badrul shows (erroneously, we think) that in ancient and Muslim India drugging and drinking constituted the order of the day. From all we can learn, even in those times, excess was exceptional. But there can be no doubt that drinking and drug-taking prevailed throughout India, and it is quite false to maintain that these habits were introduced and organized by the British. It is also doubly false to assert that the people's weaknesses have been exploited for the sake of revenue, and that the Government's policy is mainly responsible for the increase of consumption. The labouring classes being what they are, "higher wages," "the rising standard of prosperity," and "fine harvests," have been invariably followed by an expansion of revenue. But there is not a word of truth in the assertion that Government officials foster the increase of drinking habits to secure the expansion of revenue. This is mere assertion on the part of the enemy. Now what was the out-still system which Sir Charles Pritchard's policy superseded? The Hon. W. Adaiji Dalal tells us this succinctly in his answers to the questions of the Bombay Excise Commission.

Liquor used to be manufactured in nearly every town and village (and, indeed, he might have said in many lots) in any quantity, and without any control of any kind or check of strength. Under this system huge quantities of liquor were sold or bartered for country produce at all the fairs and throughout all the rural areas, and no checks or controls, beneficial or otherwise, were thought of. People could do pretty much as they liked. This is the system Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Badrul would apparently like to see revived.

Through Sir Charles Pritchard thousands and thousands of petty stills in rural and urban and other areas were abolished, and armies of illicit manufacturers who flooded the district were superseded by able and honest Indian contractors selected to co-operate with the Indian Govern-

ment. Smuggling, except on the borders of Native States (where control of liquor has always been loose), ceased, as it were, by magic. Illicit distillation from Mhowra was also stopped in the jungle tracts, and the services of the wild tribes secured for the cause of temperance. The Mhowra Bill was passed, and gradually order and organization were evolved from primitive chaos.

This is the reform Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Badrul have most mendaciously attacked, and it is desirable that all the falsehoods told about the British excise should be refuted with all the audacity and effrontery of truth. As Mr. Dalal shows, in former times, when there was no policy and no organization, drunkenness and intemperance prevailed, to the detriment of public morals and health, without any advantage in the shape of increased revenue.

The rules adopted by the Bengal Government regarding shops have been excellent; and it is not true that Government officials have looked on the humane efforts of reformers with cold disapproval, or arrested them on sorry and flimsy pretexts.

Finally, it is satisfactory to find that the four remedies for any mistakes in the present excise policy advocated by Mr. Badrul have already been strongly recommended to the Indian Government by former administrators of excise.

SHAH ABDUL LATIF. By M. M. Gidvani, with a Foreword by Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E. Pp. 47. (London: *Published by the India Society*) 1922. 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS)

This is an attractive volume—somewhat small in size, but well printed on excellent paper. On taking up the book one has the feeling that there is something really good inside. This impression is confirmed by the frontispiece, which depicts a typical Indian sufi in sitting posture. Sir Thomas Arnold sets forth briefly the purpose of the book, which is to bring about a better understanding of the faith of those who stand midway between the loftiest heights of religion and the devotion of the aboriginal to his gods of wood and stone. We cannot say that the book has in any ways answered the purpose. Mr. Gidvani's *Introduction* following the *Foreword* is spoiled by the hackneyed quotation of a greater poet in another clime:

“Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness in the desert air.”

We should have supposed that Mr. Gidvani would have re-read Shelley's “Ode to a Skylark,” if he desired to quote it accurately.

The life of Shah Abdul Latif is a wonderful example of tolerance towards Hinduism. His anecdotes are a great lesson for all seekers after truth; and perhaps the best of them is the dialogue of the two milkmaids. The tales on which the poems are based could have been much better told. The reference to Friar Lawrence in the story of the lovers Suhni and Izzat Beg jars on the senses and is altogether out of place. These

tales are all the same in substance, and are only variations of the one theme of Union with the Infinite.

The poems are better, and there is a certain atmosphere of mysticism about them. The savour of the old familiar doctrine, "to leave and sacrifice all and follow the Christ," is innate in them. There are some pretty passages in the selections of Latif's poems; for instance, the poem entitled "Realization—the Lord is within You," is a good example of the mystic teaching, "I am God."

We cannot close this short notice without paying a tribute to the India Society, whose activities in publishing Indian art and literature are so conspicuous.

FAR EAST

CHINESE GRAMMAR SELF-TAUGHT. By John Darroch, LITT.D., O.B.E.
(Marlborough and Co.).

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER)

Since the writer studied in Lombard Street under the Rev. James Summers in 1867, making use of that gentleman's "Handbook of the Chinese Language," published in 1863, he has never found any Grammar to beat it, and in his old age has become ever more and more convinced that the only satisfactory way of learning Chinese, written or spoken, is to mix freely amongst all classes of natives. If that cannot be done, then the only thing is to amuse oneself perfunctorily with any Grammar or Handbook that may turn up. Even Sir Thomas Wade's famous "Tzŭ-Erh-chi" ("Proceeding from the Easy") which has been the main stand-by of consular and customs students since 1868, and the spelling system of which is practically adopted by most writers on China, is of little use without a native to hum the tune—so to speak—as an accompaniment to the student's grinding of the organ. The spelling adopted by Mr. Darroch seems to be much the same as that favoured by the China Inland Mission—that is, the speaker, instead of using aspirates, is supposed to turn un-aspirated surds into sonants; thus Wade's *ch'ien* becomes *chien*, and Wade's *chien* becomes *gien*. The soft Peking initial *j*, which is exactly the French (only very gentle), is turned into *r* (of course not the Scotch *r*); and Wade's vowel *ê*, which is used by Wade himself—not to say by the Pekingese themselves—rather irregularly, becomes *e* pure and simple, or *eh* as a final. However, it is heart-breaking to attempt the defence or the recommendation of this or that system: the character, *pên* "a root," becomes *ben* for Mr. Darroch; in other words, "to make a *pun*" becomes "*Ben* Nevis"; and the character *jên*, "a man," pronounced exactly like *lesion* (minus the *le*) becomes the first half of *Render*. All this is quite apart from the question which "Mandarin" or "Pekingese" is in the speaker's use—i.e., whether he is in West China, Central China, North-West China, or Manchuria. Mr. Darroch, apart from numbering each character with one of the four "mandarin" tones (there are five in most "mandarin" dialects), does not seem to attempt any explanation of what

the tones are, and this delicate subject is perhaps only thoroughly (or half-thoroughly) understood by "persons" who may be counted—ahem!—on "the thumbs" of one hand: certainly, no Chinese can explain it. Just as in our English schools we pronounce Latin in the vilest way, but pay meticulous though blind attention to "quantity" and "scanning," so the Chinese of all provinces "blaze away" instinctively with their local tones, paying, at the same time, meticulous attention to what are called the "rhymes."

ASIAN CRISTOLOGY AND THE MAHAYĀNA. By E. A. Gordon. With Sketch, Map, and Illustrations. (*Maruzen and Co., Ltd.*, Tokyō, Kyoto, etc., Japan.) Published price, 10 yen.

(Reviewed by C. M. SALWEY)

This volume is the work of two authors, supplemented with extensive Appendix and numerous notes. Part I. (which dates 1818), a reprint of the century-old "Indian Church History," by Thomas Yeates, and "Further Investigations of the Religions of the Orient, as Influenced by the Apostle of the Hindus and Chinese." Part II., the Editor's Supplement, headed "Syriac Christianity" and "Daijo Bukkyō."

These together form a somewhat remarkable monograph on the growth, activity, and extension of Christianity in the *East* during the early centuries and onward—dealing with the fluctuation of Faith, now glowing with ardent profession on the part of the converted, now waning for want of sustained belief and more untiring zeal on the part of disciples who were deputed to preach the Gospel and proclaim "tidings of great joy."

In the "Indian Church History" many references are chronicled concerning the fervour of St. Thomas—of the extensive work that was carried into those regions round about Central Asia from the commencement of the Apostolic Period. In this period the first planting of churches in Syria, Mesopotamia, and other portions of the East caused Gospel Truths to find an entrance into Persia, Arabia, Armenia, India, Tartary, and China.

So thorough are the investigations made by both authors who have undertaken this task of tracing events that occurred centuries ago, it is quite obvious that concentrated efforts of many years must have been devoted to research in order to make valuable their labour spent on a theme of such historic importance. Following one another in unity of purpose every available item was eagerly utilized. Eastern scrips, sutra, missal letters, notes, and preserved MSS. have been consulted. Information obtained from many sources and languages, corresponding symbols found existing in Early Christian churches and ancient temples, pointed to the possibility that Buddhism absorbed into its theology many tenets of Christianity. So much so that these remarkable words found on the front page of the Foreword of this volume, dedicated "To the Children of the East" (and reiterated on p. 285), make up the sum total of the investigation since A.D. 1818-1921:

"Buddha and Christ are One;
Only One Great Way."

Mahayāna.

Mrs. E. A. Gordon has all her life been greatly impressed with the idea. Her convictions have left her no peace until she could proclaim them to the world and instil them into the minds of others bent on enquiry. The finding of the "Syro-Chinese Tablet" at Sianfeu, after its long disappearance, was the fact upon which this belief was built up (see p. 220).

It is impossible to review a work of this magnitude in the ordinary way. It would take a small volume in itself. The reader must study the subject for himself. He cannot fail to grow keenly absorbed. There is ample food for reflection. He will soon be led to accompany St. Thomas and his followers through all the stages of the triumphs, failures, and difficulties in the vast tracts of the Asian continent, but it will take up considerable time and demand concentrated mental effort. It remains to be seen if comparative symbols, analogous sacraments, and closely embraced tenets will be accepted as final proofs of the proclaimed relationship of the two greatest religions of the world, verified and accepted by a consensus of opinion. If this comes to pass, and Mrs. E. A. Gordon's convictions find universal favour, they will turn the scale in the direction of Christianity in a manner that no other research has ever before achieved. The authors tells us that the Indian Church has already been the means of greatly augmenting these suppositions; if so, what great results will follow when more souls are drawn into the True Fold.

It was Buddha's life of Wisdom and Supreme Self-sacrifice that caused him to be accepted as the Beloved Example of the East. The earthly sojourn and sayings of their "Divine Teacher" deeply impressed the minds of his followers.

Sir Edwin Arnold, in his book "East and West," expressed his conviction that if the Bodhi Tree standing in the Bodhimandi, which is the most sacred spot on earth to all devotees of the Buddhist religion in many countries of the Orient, could be placed under the care of the Buddhist Indians we should earn their everlasting gratitude. This concession would carry great weight at a critical epoch of the world's history. Steadfast, unflinching devotion is sorely needed at the present moment, and this act, if delicately carried out, would earn the blessing of so many people of our great Continental possession. The danger of a waning belief in ourselves and our brotherhood, after such magnificent sacrifice readily given, is great by reason of the unrest that is detoriating the stability of many nations.

The illustrations distributed through the pages of "Cristology and Mahayāna" are varied and helpful, particularly where symbolic representations aid the reader to verify the similarity of one religion to the other. One thing is a decided drawback to the study of this work. Often on one page of printing different types are introduced, and the reader is constantly interrupted by reference to endless notes and confirmations to be looked up in the Appendix. A work of this description should lead the mind gently on into its labyrinth of discussion, unchecked until the goal is reached.

NEAR EAST

ESSAYS ON THE LATIN ORIENT. By William Miller. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 40s. net.

(Reviewed by S. CASSON)

This large volume of 580 pages will provide the student of mediæval history with an immense amount of material for the illustration of the more obscure course of history in the eastern Mediterranean area.

Taking Greece as the pivot, the author shows how Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, Saracens, and Turks intrigued and conquered, rose to fame, and were forgotten in the lands which the ordinary student knows chiefly for the part they played in the history of a more cultured people. Two essays, one on "The Romans in Greece," the other on "Byzantine Greece," provide the link between the two phases.

The essay on "Florentine Athens" and the "Duchy of Naxos" are a valiant attempt to revivify dying embers and to suggest that the torch was still being handed on. But the reader will be stirred to but little enthusiasm for the rather tawdry life that still lingered, or which was at times renewed, amidst the ruins of greater things. But Mr. Miller has the enthusiasm of a political historian, and is more interested in the intrigues of prince and potentate than in their contribution to civilization. Except for a few gaunt castles, there is little to tell the modern traveller in Greece that the chivalry and splendour of the Middle Ages once held sway there. The vestiges of Neolithic man are more evident than those of the Frank. The diligent search that is evident on every page of this volume is thus the more praiseworthy.

The essay on "Salonika" summarizes the whole of the history of the "Coveted City," except its history in Hellenic times. Salonika of the Macedonians is the true heir of ancient Therma, and Therma was the key to early Macedonia. The city has an older lineage than Mr. Miller indicates; a settlement of the sixth century B.C. has recently been found just outside the present city walls, near enough to show that the head of the gulf was of importance even in the days of Peisistratus. So to say that "Salonika did not exist before Alexander the Great" is incorrect.

The chapter on the "Gattilusj" records a phase of history almost forgotten had it not been for the researches of Hasluck and others in recent years. But Mr. Miller does not make his history live. He is too engrossed in the intrigues to give us their setting. In the place of this he seeks to brighten the monotony of political move and counter-move with an occasional illuminating phrase. It is the more to be regretted, then, that these occasional phrases are all in the worst tradition of journalistic clichés. When we read that Naxos was the "Eldorado of the Ægean," Zante the "Flower of the Levant," Salonika the "Athens of Mediæval Hellenism," Ragusa the "South Slavonic Athens," Gyaros a "Botany Bay," and the Isthmus of Corinth the "Port Said of the Roman Empire," we must confess to a certain exhaustion which we only feel when we read in newspapers that Blackpool is the "Naples of the North."

But it would be unfair to let such criticisms as these detract from the worth of what is by far the most important contribution made in recent years to the study of the mediæval history of the Near East. The material which can be extracted is of the utmost value, and the research involved in the compilation of the work shows that the methods are those of a most experienced scholar.

TWO YEARS IN KURDISTAN: EXPERIENCES OF A POLITICAL OFFICER. By W. R. Hay, Captain, attached to the 24th Punjabis, Political Department, Government of India. (London: *Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd.*)

(Reviewed by Madame F. TCHERKESOFF)

The author of the book was one of the "First Hundred Thousand" who, at the outbreak of the war, threw up their work—in his case that of an undergraduate at Oxford—to put themselves at the disposal of their country. His lot was cast in more interesting places than that of many others, as his services, first as a fighting man, were required in India and then in Mesopotamia, where after the armistice he was a political officer, that is to say a civil administrator. The author fully appreciated the "glorious opportunity of treading the untrod, seeing the unseen," and tries to make his readers "share his delight in having lived on terms of intimacy with strange and unrecorded tribes," in a straightforward narrative of his experiences in Kurdistan. His mental attitude towards the Kurds is pleasantly free from the European snobbishness so common when "savages" are described. He may have approached the Kurds in the anticipation of finding the wildest of brigands and cut-throats of Christians, but he did not refuse to change his preconceived idea for others based on experience, and when he finally had to turn his back on his beloved Kurdistan, as he called it, after two years of hard and perilous work, he had learnt to appreciate it as "an unspoilt country inhabited by an unspoilt race; hilly recesses never penetrated by the European traveller, a primitive people still in its golden age adhering to simple purity and naïve savagery of primeval mankind." Following the author in his duties of civil administrator, we see the Kurds as diligent agriculturists, working much better and harder than the Arabs, who are not at their best where they are found in Kurdistan; in the hills cattle, especially pony, breeding is the chief occupation.

The Kurd considers himself before all a member of his tribe, he recognizes before all tribal laws and customs; and it is through the aghas, chiefs of these tribes, that the Turks and later the British governed the country. If Mr. Hay found the people the finest type he has met in the East, industrious, steady, thrifty, clean, and moral, the aghas, though mentally higher, are usually avaricious and often give rein to this vice and become real oppressors. As regards the Christians, long subjection has made them mean and cringing, but with an underlying honesty which is recognized by their Muhammedan neighbours, who do not support aggression against them; towards the end of the war the Turkish Govern-

ment issued orders for a massacre in Ainkawa, but the people refused to obey. However, let it not be thought that the Kurds are peaceful little lambs. We learn that their favourite pastime is highway robbery; in Turkish times every young agha had a body of armed retainers, and when they were not fighting with their neighbours they would pounce on caravans and rob them, but part of the spoil would be given up if the owner found out the identity of his assailants. Individual quarrels growing into tribal fights are often caused by questions about women, whose honour is very strictly guarded. Thieves are dealt with by tribal law; but "really bad characters will be sooner or later ejected from the village, or join the local police or gendarmes, the asylum of all scoundrels."

These are the people who, when the war broke out, saw the Russian and Turkish armies in turn devastate their country, especially along the Persian frontier; they had submitted, more or less unwillingly, to Turkish rule, but when the British appeared they were welcomed most heartily, and supported by the most clear-sighted and public-spirited among the Kurds, who had seen that in the absence of any regular reigning power the incessant warfare of the tribes had brought ruin and misery, especially to the weak and poor. The chiefs counted on high posts and salaries from the British Government; when the new administration insisted on maintaining law and order, on regular payment of taxes, there was a certain disappointment after the anticipation of a golden era. The spreading of the Pan-Islamic propaganda carried on by the Turkish emissaries did the rest; uprisings of the tribes resulted, several British officers lost their lives, and their small forces had to retire. But as soon as troops arrived, the prestige of the British Government recovered.

The author was stationed in the northern part of Mesopotamia, in the Arbil district of the Mosul division, but his activities later included the Koi and the wild Rawanduz districts. Leaving politics severely alone, and not questioning whether Great Britain has the right to stay in Mesopotamia, he has come to the conclusion that a withdrawal without substituting another Government would plunge the country into wild disorder and enonomic ruin.

Anyone who is interested in a just treatment, not only of the Christians of the former Turkish Empire, but also of the Muhammadans, should read this book, as without knowledge no justice can be expected.

But those who do not care for this aspect of the book will read it as a fresh narrative of a man who lived the life of the Kurds, sat in the guest-house of his Kurdish host, ate their long dinners, noticed such details as that cats were rather wild and dogs were not to be petted, leading up through many perils and hardships to the climax when the few Britishers in Arbil expected to be attacked and killed at any moment. The book is right through written in a plain, straightforward style, and imbued with the motto: "I have always made a rule of conforming to the native customs as far as my conscience and the honour of my country would permit."

THE ISLAND OF ROSES AND HER ELEVEN SISTERS. By Michael D. Volonakis, LITT.D., PH.D. With an Introduction by T. L. Myres, M.A., and maps and illustrations. (*Macmillan.*) Price 40s.

(*Reviewed by* LYSIMAQUE ŒCONOMOS, LITT.D., PARIS)

Under the poetical title "The Island of Roses and her Eleven Sisters," Dr. Volonakis has just published a general history of that cluster of islands of the Ægean Sea known as "the Dodecanese"—namely, Astypalæa, Calymnos, Carpathos, Casos, Chalki, Cos, Neros, Nisgros, Patmos, Rhodes, Symi, and Telos—which figure in the programme of the just claims of Greece, and where the Italian yoke replaces for the last ten years that of the Turks, without the least advantage to the inhabitants and notwithstanding their wishes, loudly and frequently expressed, to be united to the Hellenic kingdom.

A native of one of these islands, Symi, it has always been the author's desire to raise sometime to his fatherland's glory a monument of its activities through the ages, and for that purpose he has patiently been collecting materials for many years past. A protracted stay in London as a representative of the twelve islands afforded him the opportunity of utilizing the treasures of the wonderful library of the British Museum to complete his researches.

Artistically bound, agreeably printed, richly illustrated with general and particular maps and various beautiful views, his volume is divided into three parts.

In the first, the author successively studies the geography of the islands, the history of the term "Dodecanese," the geological formation of this cluster, the atmospheric conditions, and the climate, the products, flora, fauna, and minerals.

The second is entirely devoted to the history of the political and military events which took place in these islands, and particularly in Rhodes, from the earliest time down to the present day. The author reviews the mythical age, the pre-archaic and archaic ages, the classical period, the attack of Rhodes by Antigonos and Demetrius, the Hellenistic, the Greco-Roman and Byzantine periods, the epoch of the Knights, the Turkish rule, and the Italian occupation.

In the third, he deals with the Dodecanesian civilization: religion, culture, commerce, athletic games, characteristics, and habits of the inhabitants.

A *preface*, statistics of the population as at present, an abundant bibliography, a detailed index, complete this work, which Professor T. L. Myres of Oxford has kindly honoured with an introduction.

Dr. Volonakis is the first to have attempted to write an extensive and continuous history of the Dodecanese, and though the subject, in its various periods and for each of the principal islands separately, has already been studied in detail long before him, in a great many compilations and monographs, as mentioned in the author's bibliography, still it is certainly not of small merit to have been able out of them, as well as

out of the original sources, to sum up, in a clear, general view, the fortunes of the islands through the ages.

No doubt Dr. Volonakis would have added to the interest of his book had he had the opportunity to carry on personal research for such an important period as that of the Turkish rule. Had he gone through the records of the French Consulate at Rhodes, kept at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris, he might have been enabled to bring forward fresh information on the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth. On the other hand, had he consulted the newspapers of the early part of last century, he might have come across interesting details respecting some events of the War of Independence. For instance, as regards the reduction of *Cassos* by the Egyptians in 1824, Dr. Volonakis would have found an interesting account in the *Moniteur Universel*, so easy to handle, thanks to its fairly complete indices (August 11 and 20, 1824, pp. 1115A, 1149A), as well as in a despatch from the British Consul in Egypt, Henry Salt, dated "Alexandria, June 24, 1824," and kept in the Record Office in London (F.O. 78/126).

No doubt also the interest of the work would have been enhanced were it more speculative and less of a narrative. We could but regret that Dr. Volonakis has not given more space to the philosophy of history; that he should welcome every legend, not only in his text, but even in his illustrations; that he should delight in minute descriptions of sieges; and, when he deals with such an important question as that of the Dodecanesian civilization, in the third part of his book, that he should be too short and rather superficial. We would have liked to see him discussing with Nomikos the question of the so-called "Rhodian" pottery. We would have liked to see a son of the islands draw a live portrait of his fellow-countryman. We would have liked to become, through him, more intimately acquainted with the religious, honest, intelligent, hard-working islanders, who may prove one day a reservoir of energy and talent for Greece.

The author's erudition is undoubtedly great, though not beyond criticism. To take only a few examples, we are astonished that he should not quote Nomikos' work in reference to the Rhodian pottery, and Sakkelion's publications and our own thesis on the religious life in the Byzantine Empire of the twelfth century, in reference to Aristodoulos of Patmos.

And yet, in spite of the gaps and omissions, Dr. Volonakis' book is undoubtedly a fine piece of work. It may be that it is not an *ære perennius* one; still it will prove useful in many respects, not only to students of history—who may welcome in it a convenient encyclopædia of the Dodecanesian affairs—but also to research students, who may take it as a basis and proceed further. Above all, by spreading abroad an accurate and scientific knowledge of the Twelve Islands, Dr. Volonakis has done on behalf of his country much more than any propaganda could effect.

In reference to the poetical title, "The Island of Roses, etc.," is Dr. Volonakis sure of the meaning of *Rhodes*? Does it not mean rather *the island of serpents* (*gesirath rod* in Phœnician), as is suggested in

Dapper's work, an etymology which at least would explain why the island should have been known in the earliest time as "full of serpents" as "the pernicious one"? The process would have been this: In the course of time, the first Phœnician word, *gesirath* (island), would have dropped, and the second one would have remained alone to name the island. Later on the Greeks, for whom the real Phœnician etymology was by them lost in the darkness of ages, would have compared it with their own word, *rhodon* (a rose), and would have derived the island's name from the flower's name.

FRENCH BOOK

LETTRES DU TONKIN ET DE MADAGASCAR (1894-99). By Marshal Lyautey. (Librairie Colin, 103, Boul. St. Michel, Paris.) 40 f.

At a time when British and French methods of colonization are being frequently compared, the above volume of letters by one of the greatest of living French Colonials calls for special notice. It will be recalled that in 1914 General Lyautey was in Morocco, and in response to feverish appeals from Paris, sent back nearly all the French garrisons, but refused to leave himself. His fate was then forgotten until the end of the Great War, when it was found that with the remnants, and the co-operation of the Moroccans themselves, he had completed the work of subjugation. What were the thoughts and aspirations of this great personality when he was still a captain? These letters provide the answer. Addressed to his sister, to friends in France, occasionally to his military chiefs, they reveal a burning patriotism, a hatred for bureaucracy, boundless love for adventure. In Tonkin he had caught the eye of the great Gallieni, and it is no exaggeration to say that he devoted his whole Colonial life to the exacting task of obeying his chief's orders. The most interesting portions of his book are those in which he expresses his boundless admiration for this "Saviour of Paris," who, his friends claim, disobeyed the order to evacuate the city, and decided, on his own responsibility, to move north to the Marne.

BOOKS RECEIVED

INDIA: "Journal of the Department of Letters," Vol. V. (University of Calcutta); "Prince Edward's Speeches in India" (Natesan); "The Mineral Resources of Burma," by N. M. Penzer (Routledge); "Reminiscences of an Indian Cavalry Officer," by Colonel J. S. E. Western (Allen and Unwin); "India in the Balance," by Khwaya Kamalud-Din (*Islamic Review*).

Far East: "Russia in the Far East," by Leo Pasvol'sky (Macmillan); "The Early Ceramic Wares of China," by R. L. Hobson (Benn); "China's Place in the Sun," by Stanley High (Macmillan).

Near East: "The Mercy of Allah," by Hilaire Belloc (Chatto and Windus).

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

WE understand that Dr. J. Pollen has now revised and has ready for the Press his literal translations from the Russian poet Krilof. He has translated all the known Fables of the great Russian fabulist. The translations are in no sense of the word paraphrases; but, while preserving the exact rhyme and rhythm of the Russian, they give as closely as possible the meaning of the Russian text, line for line, and almost word for word. The book ought thus to prove of use to Englishmen studying Russian, and to Russians studying English, besides being of interest to the general reader.

The advice of the Marquess Curzon has been carefully followed, and the translator seems to have subordinated himself, as far as possible, to the conception and thought, and even to the technique of the original writer. The result is not displeasing, and there is much in the Fables of Krilof to interest not only the people of England, but the peoples of all Europe at the present time. In this edition of the Fables, the work of Krilof has been divided into eight parts, and the Fables grouped under eight headings.

The first part deals with Krilof's attitude to literary work and criticism, and the second to his views on upbringing and education.

In the third are collected all the Fables dealing with the life of Russian Society, followed in the fourth by those treating of the faults of that Society. In the fifth part are collected together all the Fables of a philosophic vein; and the conditions of Government service in Russia are considered in the sixth part.

The seventh part is devoted to the praise of modest work; and in the eighth are set forth the Fables dealing with historical events, mainly connected with Napoleon's invasion of Russia.

We believe this is the first time that all the Fables of Krilof have been translated into English.

POETRY

CHINESE LOVE SONGS

I'D LIKE TO BE YOUR LOOKING-GLASS *

AIR—" *The Girl I left Behind Me* "

(CONTRIBUTED BY D. A. WILSON, I.C.S., RETD.)

I

I'd like to be your looking-glass,
 For then my only duty
 Would be to watch you when you pass,
 And show you all your beauty.
 I'd like to be your girdle placed ;
 For after you did buy me,
 And once had put me round your waist,
 The world could not untie me !

II

I'd like to be the rosy flute
 You're kissing and caressing.
 I'd gladly be your pillow mute—
 Your cheek would be my blessing.
 But most I'd like to be your cat,
 And mew, and run about you :
 To touch you's all I would be at,
 And never be without you !

* This may be called modern, as it is not B.C. The date is doubtful.
 See "La Chine Familière" of Jules Arène, p. 55.

IT'S UP ON THE MOUNTAIN THE MULBERRIES
GROW*

I

It's up on the mountain the mulberries grow ;
The lotuses lie in the lake ;
I won't look at Chay-too, wherever he go—
I'm here, you mad boy, for your sake !

II

It's up on the mountain they seek for the pine ;
The lily they find in the lake ;
I won't look at Chay-chung, although he is fine—
I'm here, clever boy, for your sake !

"A lady mocking her lover," says Legge of this song ; and many old commentators agree with him. No doubt they would be right if the song were sung to the like of them.

* This is a woman's song, and edited by Confucius (Odes, I., 7 and 10 ; Legge's "Chinese Classics," IV., 137, 138).

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

CONTENTS: *The East India Association—The Royal Society of Arts—The Royal Colonial Institute—The Palestine Exploration Fund—The Royal Asiatic Society—The Japan Society—The Lyceum Club—Central Asian Society—India Society—Indian Gymkhana Club.*

THE Proceedings of the *East India Association* will be found on pp. 386 to 437. The annual meeting this year was followed by a *conversazione* at the Caxton Hall.

The Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture was delivered before the Indian Section of the *Royal Society of Arts* on May 26, 1922. Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., Professor of Arabic at the School of Oriental Studies, read a paper on "Indian Painting and Muhammadan Culture." He confined himself to the later period of the Muhammadan history of India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He emphasized that one important aspect that had not yet received adequate treatment was the religious life of Islam in its various phases and developments. He mentioned in particular the reverence for saints and ascetics, the submission by the faithful of their spiritual life to the direction of religious guides and teachers. One outcome of this submission to religious authority was the enormous expansion of the Islamic religious orders in India, and portraits of the more famous saints belonging to the various orders were common. The slides in illustration of the lecture were also greatly appreciated by the audience.

Empire Day was celebrated at the *Royal Colonial Institute* by the holding of the annual dinner. India loomed large in the after-dinner speeches. Sir William Meyer emphasized that we had not merely achieved political unity and given India peace and law and order, such as India never knew in past centuries, but we had brought the peoples of India in many ways into a homogeneous whole. We had passed laws which apply to India as a whole. We had given her a system of railway and road connection which has brought various parts of India in contact in a way never achieved before. We had introduced new industries. If we were to disappear to-morrow, the work we have done already would stand as an imperishable memento of Great Britain, and would be acknowledged by the whole world. Lord Meston, who was in the chair, paid a tribute to the work of Sir William Meyer, who, he said, had devoted his life to the people of India, and showed unexampled zeal and affection for their interests; but among his many duties there was none which compared in importance with the work he did for so many years in building up the currency and finance system of India, and bringing them to such a state as had enabled India to pass through these troubled years with its credit unimpaired and unimpeached.

The annual general meeting of the *Palestine Exploration Fund* was held on May 30 at Burlington House. The Right Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel was in the chair. In his address he said: "The new administration of Palestine is, of course, sympathetic to the work of archæological research. The administration of Palestine has established a Government museum, in which the fruits of research can be exhibited; and it already reflects a considerable amount of credit on the archæological department and on the keeper of the museum, Mr. Phythian Adams, who is working under the direction of Professor Garstang."

There was a meeting of the *Royal Asiatic Society* on June 13. The Right Hon. Lord Chalmers, G.C.B., took the chair. Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes gave a highly interesting lecture with lantern illustrations on "The Achaemenian Dynasty." This subject enabled him to give a suggestive account of the Persian expeditions against Greece from the Asiatic point of view. He pointed out that the disasters which the Persian arms underwent at Marathon and Salamis, though of the greatest importance for Greece, were for the Government at Susa only a transitory event. Moreover, the Ionian Greeks were ever susceptible to the blandishments of Persian bribes. It was only at the time of Alexander the Great that the Persians learned the true meaning of the Greek menace. The lecturer insisted that Herodotus and the "Persæ" of Æschylus gave a most one-sided account. The other point of view had not yet penetrated into the textbooks.

His Excellency Baron Hayashi presided at the annual dinner of the *Japan Society* on June 7. The dominant note of the speeches was "Peace in the Pacific."

The President, in proposing the toast of the King, alluded to the visit of the Prince of Wales to Japan, and remarked that His Royal Highness, who was now speeding homewards, had been received with the utmost kindness by the Imperial Family. The relations between Great Britain and Japan were of the most intimate character, and the visit of the Prince of Wales to Japan would cement the good feelings between the two countries, which were of a most friendly character.

In submitting the toast of the Emperor of Japan, the President expressed the hope that His Imperial Majesty would soon be restored to good health.

Sir Charles Addis, in the absence through indisposition of Professor Longford, proposed the health of the President of the Society, the Japanese Ambassador. In the course of his speech he said: "Between the two Powers of England and Japan there was a binding link, founded on a community of interests and cemented by comradeship in the Great War. It was idle to pretend that during His Excellency's tenure of office questions had not cropped up which had been viewed by his country and by ourselves from different standpoints; and it was a tribute to his tenacity, and to his candour and tact, that they could say not one of those questions had proved irresistible to adjustment or accommodation." (Hear, hear.)

The Japanese Ambassador, in responding, paid a tribute to the members and the enthusiasm of the members of the Japan Society, and mentioned the work of Mr. Arthur Diósy, extending over a great number of years.

The Oriental Circle of the *Lyceum Club* held a reception on June 16, under the presidency of Mrs. Shrimpton Giles. Mrs. Tata rendered an Urdu song, and Mr. Fujiwara, the Japanese tenor, interpreted Nippon folksongs. Among the guests of honour were: H.H. the Maharaja Jamsaheb of Nawanagar, H.H. the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Lady Ratan Tata, Sir Mancherjee Bhowmagrae, Sir Krishna Gupta, Lord and Lady Clwyd, H.E. Baron Hayashi (Japanese Ambassador), Prince and Princess Shimadzu, Mme. Okamoto, the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires, and Madame Chu.

Lord Carnock took the chair at Sir Valentine Chirol's lecture at the *Central Asian Society* on June 15. In reviewing the Near Eastern situation, the lecturer remarked that the muster of retrograde forces under Turkish Nationalism at Angora and of the Khalifate movement in India was cause for some apprehension, but we could discriminate between them and the more progressive forces which, over a much wider area extending from Northern Africa to the shores of the Pacific, were working towards a synthesis which might bring East and West together in the interests of racial and religious peace, in spite of the differences which still divided them.

On May 19 the *India Society* held the first of a series of lectures designed to show the spread of Indian ideals of art across the seas and beyond the Himalayas. On this occasion Professor Vogel of Leyden University, late of the Indian Archaeological Survey, delivered a lecture in which he traced Indian influences in Javanese art. It might be assumed, he said, that Indian masters first taught the Javanese the arts of stone architecture and stone sculpture. The great Buddhist shrine of Borobudur, the Brahmanical temples on the Dieng plateau, the wonderful reliefs at Prambanan, were the masterpieces of the classical period of Hindu-Javanese art.

The *India Society* is holding a soiree on July 4 at 21, Cromwell Road (8 p.m.). After the reception, Professor Rothenstein will speak on "Indian Sculpture." Later in the month, and in continuation of the above-mentioned scheme, M. Goloubeff of Paris will deliver a lecture before the Society on "Indian Influences on the Art of Indo-China."

Mr. T. W. B. Ramsay has kindly sent us the fixture-card of the *Indian Gymkhana Club*. The opening of the new ground took place on Empire Day. It is situated in a convenient position at Osterley. In all twenty-four cricket matches have been arranged for the season. The side is being captained this season by Colonel K. M. Mistri, C.B.E.

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

I. PALESTINE AND AVIATION

IN view of the revived interest in aviation, attention may be directed to the valuable work of Major Long,* who, after the conclusion of his active service in Palestine in the Royal Air Force, was entrusted with surveying a considerable portion of the Cape to Cairo Air Route and making aerodromes from Cairo to Nyanza.

Section XV. of the report throws a side-light on the "glorious achievement of General Allenby," resulting in "the complete defeat of the Turkish army, with the loss of the whole of their supplies and transport and some 90,000 prisoners."

Major Long relates how in three days the whole Turkish army, so far as its fighting efficiency was concerned, was completely annihilated by the bombs and the machine-guns of the Air Force. He tells us:

"The Palestine campaign is probably the most wonderful instance of military strategy in the history of war. The plan of attack was kept an absolutely dead secret until the last minute, and was therefore unlike other attacks, the main ideas of which have, in some way, become more or less generally known."

These and similar facts suggest that an international or rather world police force alone should be permitted to possess an effective military air force, *to be used only when all other means have failed.*

Readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW will be interested to learn that after years of ceaseless experimenting a British engineer, Mr. Henry Leitner, has succeeded in perfecting an all-metal air-propeller, which has triumphantly passed the severest test applied by the British and French Governments. The American and Japanese authorities are also evincing practical interest in its possibilities.

Mr. Leitner is the gifted Arabic scholar, and son of the first Rector of Lahore University.

Few realize that the average life in the air of the wooden propeller is less than twenty-four hours, and that a bird or other small object striking against it may reduce it to fragments. The life-saving value of the metal propeller should speedily ensure its enforced adoption, as the public conscience will insist upon the risks of the intrepid airman's life, so lightly alluded to in Major Long's modest but important record, being reduced to the absolute minimum. Interesting details have been published in the *Daily Mail* of June 16 and elsewhere.

II. THE RUTENBERG CONCESSION

Much heartburning has been occasioned by the Rutenberg Concession. As usual, *The Near East* (June 1, 1922) takes a balanced view of the situation. If the Rutenberg scheme goes through it explains—

* "In the Blue," by Major S. H. Long, D.S.O., M.C. London and New York: John Lane. 5s. net.

"It will be because it is supported by official Jewry, to whom Great Britain as Mandatory Power must look for the economic development of Palestine. If the Jewish bodies interested in the future of Palestine . . . announce that the scheme will be carried forward with their support there will doubtless be a tendency to overlook the antecedents of Mr. Rutenberg, and to give him the credit that he deserves for his enterprise in making an exhaustive study of Palestine's water-power."

Mr. Rutenberg is a Jewish engineer from Russia, who has been given a concession securing the exclusive monopoly of the development of water-power and electric energy in Palestine.

On June 21 in the House of Lords the Government was defeated on the motion, moved by Lord Islington, declaring that in its present form the Palestine Mandate was not acceptable to the House. The Mandate was vigorously defended by the Earl of Balfour, and the Rutenberg Concession was alluded to several times in the debate.

Said Lord Balfour :

"I do not deny that this is an adventure ; but are we never to have adventures, are we never to try new experiments ? I hope your lordships will never sink to that unimaginative depth. If experiment and adventure be justified in any cause surely it is in order that we may send a message to every land where the Jewish race has been scattered—a message which will tell them that Christendom is not oblivious to their fate and is not unmindful of the services they have rendered to the great religions of the world, most of all to the religion the majority of your lordships' House profess, and that we desire to the best of our ability to give them every opportunity to develop in peace and quietness, under British rule, those great gifts which hitherto they have been compelled from the nature of the case only to bring to fruition in countries which know not their language and belong not to their race. . . . That is the ideal which lies at the root of the policy I am trying to defend."

III. THE PRESENT "IMPASSE" IN THE NEAR EAST

Mr. Cecil Harmsworth's careful statement in the House of Commons on May 30 embodies the salient facts, which are as follows :

"On March 22 the Conference of Allied Foreign Ministers at Paris proposed an immediate Armistice to the Governments of Athens, Constantinople, and Angora.

"The Greek Government accepted. No reply was received from Turkey.

"On March 27 the Conference communicated to Athens, Constantinople, and Angora the proposals for a general settlement, which included evacuation under Allied supervision. At the same time it invited those three Governments to send delegates to meet the three Allied High Commissioners at a place to be agreed upon, in order to examine their proposals, it being understood, of course, that the Armistice at that time was in force. On April 5 the Angora Government replied, accepting the Armistice, but it qualified its acceptance by the condition that the evacuation of Asia Minor should begin at once.

"Subject to this condition (that is, that the evacuation should begin at once, thus exposing an unarmed population), the Angora Government was also prepared to send delegates in three weeks to examine the general proposals. On April 8 the Constantinople Government expressed itself as willing to send delegates in three weeks

for peace negotiations. It appeared not to be concerned with the Armistice, but urged early evacuation of Asia Minor. Constantinople and Angora neither accepted nor rejected the general proposals.

"The Greek Government, having accepted the Armistice, considered that it need return no answer about the general proposals until Turkey had definitely accepted the Armistice.

"On April 15 the Allies replied to Angora :

"(1) That the Allies could not agree to the immediate evacuation of Asia Minor.

"(2) That they might, however, agree to evacuation beginning as soon as 'the body' of the general proposals had been accepted, any 'special points' being reserved for discussion.

"On April 19 the Allies replied to the Constantinople Government in much the same sense.

"Angora replied on April 22, referring at length to alleged Greek atrocities and insisting on immediate evacuation. It suggested a Conference at Ismid 'to open preliminary negotiations,' and indicated that some of the peace proposals were unacceptable. The Constantinople Government replied on April 29, ostensibly accepting all the principles of the proposed settlement, but virtually challenging the whole settlement proposed."

Mr. Chamberlain on the same day alluded to further excesses committed in Asia Minor reported from American sources, notably those from Dr. Gibbons (published in the *Christian Science Monitor*, June 5) which reveal how impossible is peace without a definite assurance of the safety of the minority populations.

The *Literary Digest*, perhaps the most able of American weeklies, publishes in its issue of May 6 some interesting comments on the views of Mr. Ahmed Emin, editor of the Constantinople *Vakit*, who complains—

"That while the fate of the Christian minorities in Turkey is discusst with fanaticism, the actual sufferings of the Turkish minorities in Macedonia and the extermination of the Turkish majorities in Thrace and Smyrna 'hardly draw the slightest attention.' Addressing himself to the editor of the London *New Statesman*, he declares that such a condition means that human life is differently valued according to whether it is a Christian or a Muhammadan who is concerned."

"And who suffers most from this lamentable situation?" asks a writer in *L'Aise Française* for May, 1922. "The Greeks and the Turks? The English or the Italians? Not at all; it is the French, as we shall be able to show later on."

Mr. H. Charles Woods, in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, contributes, under the heading of "Paris and the Near East," one of his carefully reasoned articles in which, while approving of the Paris Conference as a whole, he points out certain defects, the gravest in his estimation being the total neglect of the interests of Armenia, to whom promises were made no less binding than those made to Turkey. "No stone, therefore, should be left unturned to try to safeguard the lives and properties of a people entirely dependent upon the Powers," is Mr. Woods' just verdict.

IV.—GREECE : THE OFFICERS' WIDOWS LEAGUE

At an all-night sitting on May 30 the Bill providing adequate pensions for the widows and orphans of Greek officers was passed, and the cause of the widows was won. Parliament settled the affair most generously, in full

accordance with the demands formulated. Not only were the pensions increased by 400 per cent., but the pensioners will be entitled to receive the difference of which they have been deprived since 1916 through the Act of that date, which was unjust so far as it excluded officers retired before 1912. Now the new Act ensures equal treatment for all officers irrespective of the date of retirement.

Thus have the strenuous labours of the Officers' Widows League and its promoter, Dr. Platon Drakoules, been crowned with success. They and the Parliament alike must be congratulated on the passing of so humanitarian a measure, likewise the energetic President of the League, Madame Zorbas, one of my earliest and firmest Greek friends, with regard to whom an amusing incident occurred. I had been in Athens about three weeks when one of the leading editors called to see me, and put the following among other questions:

"Mademoiselle, you who know so many of the leading men in Europe, tell me what you think of our great men. Who among them has impressed you as '*l'esprit le plus fort*'?"⁴

I replied that among the few I had met I had not found one of outstanding personality.

He, however, persisted in his idea that I must have been struck by some one person as transcending all the others. At last I exclaimed:

"Yes, you are right, '*l'esprit le plus fort parmi vous c'est Madame Zorbas*.'" ("The most outstanding personality among you is Madame Zorbas").

Three months later, one afternoon, several excited, even angry, visitors called—deputies, lawyers, and other personages—and asked me to explain myself. I then discovered that, to punish me for refusing him an interview, some editor had that morning published my remark as if just made after a three months' visit, during which I had met many of the leading men of Greece. My first visit was at the end of 1909.

For the second time Madame Zorbas is making history. This victory of the women's efforts will affect the status of womanhood throughout the Near East. The Greeks are the brains of the Balkans. Where Greece leads others will soon follow, and it is well for the feminist cause in the Near East that it had so experienced and ardent an advocate as Dr. Drakoules, and so efficient a guide as Madame Zorbas, to whom I would convey the felicitations of the British Vice-Presidents of the League, including Viscountess Molesworth, Lady Muir Mackenzie, Lady de Brath, and my humble self.

On the very day of the passing of the Act Dr. Drakoules was knocked down by a passing tram. By some unaccountable means the front of the tram, which came in contact with his back, pushed him sideways, so that he fell on the pavement instead of straight forward. With marvellous dexterity the conductor stopped the tram instantly, and the spectators were amazed to find that the victim had not sustained even a bruise, and had, moreover, felt nothing from the violent contact with the front of the tram. The accident happened but a few hours before the passing of the Act, and grateful women kept torches burning all day as a thanksgiving for their benefactor's miraculous escape.

A NOTE ON RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

MANY books have been written dealing with Russia's Foreign Policy, but I feel that this one deserves particular attention.* The author draws in brief, but vivid, sketches the main phases of this tangled question, and has made it a coherent whole. There is no doubt that the eighties and nineties of the last century presented many critical moments, not only for Russia, but also for England, France, and Germany. That was the time when Russia was ruled by Alexander III., who was visibly hostile to England, and clashed with her in Turkey, Persia, and the Far East. And these collisions reacted on her pride, and created indignation and enmity. Baron Korff writes: "England had an absolute lack of knowledge about Russia and Russians: the Russian nation remained to her a constant riddle, unsolved up to the end of the century; she knew no more about it than the ancient history of Aztecs or Peruvians."

England did not understand the yearning of Russia for Constantinople, which is for all true Russians the symbol and birth-place of the Orthodox Church. She saw in this yearning only a menace to her interests in Turkey, and the extension of the threat of Muscovy.

Yet some Englishmen could be found, even then, who desired to co-operate with Russia, and scouted the idea of a "Russian danger in Asia." I need only mention Mr. Gladstone. But such people were few, and their voice was like "the voice crying in the wilderness."

It was only in 1908 that the political horizon became clearer, and the relations between Russia and England then gradually improved. After the Russo-Japanese War, when Russia's influence in the Balkans became weaker, then England drew closer the old bonds of friendship between the two countries. But even then "the secretive methods of Downing Street hid away from the British people the real motives of that new and strange alliance of Liberal England with reactionary Russia. The English nation did not understand the full meaning of this rapprochement, nor did it realize at large the growing German danger, and that an understanding with Russia became imperative; the alliance with Russia from the point of view of an uninformed Liberal was preposterous. As Professor Browne exclaimed, 'It was a monstrous conception of a peaceful Russia and a belligerent Germany!' To him, as to many Englishmen, Russia was still the old enemy and constant aggressor."

* "Russia's Foreign Relations during the Last Half-Century." By Baron S. A. Korff, D.C.L. (Macmillan.) 10s. 6d. net.

But you must not think that the book of Baron Korff treated only of the Anglo-Russian relations. The author endeavours to show the foreign policy of Russia, and it can be justly said that he has accomplished his task splendidly. "Russia's Foreign Relations" will be still more interesting after Russia has outlived a very distressing situation, but her future is an enigma. Yet in searching for the solution of that enigma the words of the great historian Plutarch must not be forgotten, who said that "the past and the future of a nation are close bound together."

I hope that the book of Baron Korff will be read with great interest, and the author will receive the reward that he merits for his splendid work.

EXHIBITION SECTION

I. INDO-CHINA AT MARSEILLES

BY ROGER DE BELLEVAL

(Translated by HENRI PEYRE)

THE Colonial Exhibition at Marseilles was inaugurated on April 16, in accordance with the official announcement, but at that time the greater part of the collections had not yet arrived and the decorations were unfinished. When I visited the Exhibition all the arrangements had been completed, and I can thus give to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW a full description of its splendours.

Algeria and Tunis have built artistic palaces, the style of which is well known. The *kasbah* of Morocco is elegant; the house of Madagascar represents the palace of Queen Ranavaloa, the curious front of which attracts the eye of the visitor. Western Africa is represented by a *tata*, a kind of home-made fortress in red clay with embattled walls. Unfortunately, this *tata* has a square tower, which is supposed to recall that of the Djeune Mosque, but it is too high and out of all proportion to the modest appearance of the rest of the building. However, I soon understood the reason for this exaggeration when I espied quite near it the Indo-China building, which raises its central tower to a height of more than 180 feet. Western Africa was afraid of looking crushed down by the proportion of the neighbouring palace, and, excited by a feeling of emulation, however misplaced, had decided at all costs to be in the picture!

It has been said that the Colonial Exhibition is in reality that of Indo-China, and I must own that this is true.

Instead of presenting, as she has done before at other exhibitions, little buildings of the Annamite, Cambodian, and Laotian arts, Indo-China has had the happy idea of reproducing the central group of the Angkor Wat Palace, a marvel of Khmer art, which symbolizes in its wonderful harmony the reality of Indo-Chinese union. This palace is square in shape, and has only one story, built upon a strong foundation 30 feet high. Along the four sides runs a graceful colonnade with four pavilions, each entered by a portico. At the corners stand towers looking like tiaras, which are thoroughly characteristic of Cambodian art and rise up to a height of 120 feet. From the centre of the building the central dome looks down upon us. It is reached by imposing flights of stairs, intercepted by many wide landings. Similarly eight stairways lead from the basements to the porticos.

In front of the building two delicate colonnades lead to light, graceful

pavilions, which are crowned by two towers identical with those of the temple and reflected in its sacred waters. Five buildings surround the main edifice; three are placed around the palace, and are used for local exhibitions of the countries of the Union. The two others recall the Angkor libraries, and are graceful and very light pavilions, occupied respectively by the offices of Indo-Chinese "tourism" and the Press.

Along the walls of the galleries we see the *devatas* and *apsaras*, which are the houris of the Khmer legends. The porches are guarded by giants leaning on their clubs; sacred lions crouch on the landings of the stairs. Lastly, the great Naga displays around the palace square its winding body, and opens before the stairs its seven yawning mouths. But let us ascend the giant stairway and enter this palace, which recalls to our mind the power of the Khmer kings of the twelfth century. In the wide hall, adorned with all the ornaments of Indo-Chinese art, we find pictures to represent the various stages in the story of Indo-China's incorporation with France: the merchants of Rouen on the banks of the Mi Kong, the negotiations with the Court of Annam, and the setting up of the Cambodia Protectorate. Then there are the statistics describing the effects of French administration; the budget and fiscal history of the colony; the great share she took in the war loans. These details are supplied by the Director of the Treasury. Further, the Sanitary Service shows what has been done against tropical diseases and epidemics, the medical assistance given in clinical and lying-in hospitals, as well as for the protection of children. The Educational Service has accomplished an especially important work in connection with the University College of Hanoi, the secondary schools there and at Saigon, the colleges for French and native boys, and the small village schools. The numerous professional schools exhibit the work of their pupils, some of which, particularly vases and wooden sculpture, are really remarkable.

A special reference must be made to the exhibition of the French Far Eastern School; besides the rich library of periodicals, it exhibits reproductions of the most beautiful specimens from its famous museum, the results obtained by the Archæological Survey, the Iconographical Mission, and one of its most distinguished members, M. Goloubev, who is its representative at the Marseilles Exhibition. Moreover, I must not pass over the work of the Geographical Service, the Society of Ancient Hue, of Indo-Chinese Studies, of the Friends of Hanoi, etc. These allow us to form an idea of the intellectual activity of the colony and the zeal with which Frenchmen study Indo-China.

The Economic Exhibition is on the ground floor in the wide area bounded by the palace buildings. The sections of Fishery and of Hunting are especially remarkable, the former with its aquarium, the latter with its zoological park.

Behind the central palace runs the Annam street, populated by craftsmen, workmen, and merchants, who, under the eye of the spectator, ply their trades and sell the objects of their industry. There are some "silent houses," belonging to notable personages, the rich furniture of which is worthy of admiration. Further on we see the schools in which Annam

children pursue their regular studies and their French lessons, although their attention is somewhat diverted by the visitors.

Around a small lake Cambodian and Laotian hamlets are grouped. They are built on piles. They are real villages, transported to Marseilles. Women are weaving and working in the silkworm nursery, men driving peaceful buffaloes, or huge elephants heavily plodding their way.

Then you can sit down at one of the red lacquered tables of the Annam restaurant under verandas adorned with many-coloured lanterns and while away an hour amid the sweet melodies of the Laotian orchestra.

The Marseilles Exhibition will be open until next November, and I can commend it very warmly to all those who are fond of the East and realize its mystic charm. Moreover, they can see with their own eyes the results of the colonizing genius of Frenchmen.

II. AN ARTIST OF OLD JAPAN

By W. GILES

A unique opportunity has just been afforded us to study the spirit of ancient Japan by a series of paintings exhibited by Shunko Sugiura at the Japanese Embassy. The artist was present at the opening ceremony—a venerable man of seventy-nine years in the full vigour of life, his face reminiscent of carved ivory, yet beaming with delight whenever addressed in his native language.

To those who only know Japanese art through the medium of her colour prints, this exhibition must have been somewhat perplexing. Further, in this exhibition colour did not play a dominant rôle, but rather the black-and-white. This manner of expression in art was unheard of in the West until the printing press made the literal imitation of the beautifully illuminated manuscript an impossibility. It developed out of a material necessity. In the Far East, on the contrary, it dawned as a spiritual desire, if not as a religious decree; it was loved because of its austerity. Such an artist as Shunko Sugiura avoids rather than seeks contact with Western traditions and the turmoil of life generally.

To escape its evil influence he banished himself for three years to the mountains, not as one who, blasé with life's surfeit, seeks recuperation at some remote retreat where all the comforts of an hotel are provided, but as an exile to its solitude, living by the sweat of his brow in an ecstasy of artistic fervour the spirit of which has been lost to us since the days when the words "*laborare est orare*" lost their significance.

Twenty-four paintings were shown as an introductory foreword to the exhibition proper. They were created in the style of the dead masters, a usage strangely alien to our conceptions, but serving to illustrate that what we so often deem forgeries have been created on principles other than our own. The aim was to make manifest the distinction between the two schools—colour and tone, and the unhappy fusion that spelt degeneration.

The school of colour is known as Yamato-Ye (ancient Japanese picture), and the school of black-and-white as Kan-ga (ancient Chinese picture). The Yamato-Ye epitomizes the Jodo-shu (Buddhist Jodo sect), which maintained that salvation could be obtained through prayer and the repeating of the name Amidabutsu (Hallelujah). This paved the way to effeminacy and the decline of Imperial power, when necessity demanded the sterner creed of Zen-shu (Buddhist Zen sect), and was adopted by the new régime of the Shogunate. Zen philosophy was esoteric; it inculcated that true greatness comes from within, the result of determination and effort. The cults known to us as the "Tea and Flower Ceremonies" owe their origin to Zen; and if in a thoughtless moment we regard them as trifling we would do well to remember that such doctrines averted the threatened scourge of Kublai Khan and his armada of the thirteenth century, and gave a later Japan her victories on the battlefields of Manchuria—a success that gives to modern civilization a new significance. These pictures are an epitome of this spirit, and if at first we cannot understand them we should endeavour to learn. Zen philosophy is full of paradoxes, a cryptic path to self-understanding.

The artist's work resolves itself into three divisions, the most important being the black-and-white style of Zen, and two phases of colour expression; one a hard, decisive style of inset-colour touches, reminding one of cloisonné enamel, with a dominant scheme of verdigris green gently enhanced by the reticent use of ultramarine, the other a more juicy brush-wash treatment with a suggestion of tone, and a flush of colour as if seen through atmosphere.

Seeing styles so diverse one naturally asks the artist which style he prefers, and why. I cannot do better than quote his own words.

"Black-and-white is to be preferred because it best reveals the true spirit of Far Eastern Art."

"All but the greatest fail if they incorporate colour, because with increased difficulties come increased defects, destroying what otherwise might have been a more perfect work of art."

"Whatsoever school of colour one would follow the difficulties are the same; he who is not a colourist would fail in the one as in the other.

"The divinity of art should be approached with a singleness of purpose and a spiritual purity of heart."

Though sincerity, the true spirit of art, is the same in every country, he regretted the modern tendency of internationalism.

"The art of every country was becoming the misrepresentation of another.

"Each artist must return to the sincerity of his own soul. Further, art by becoming cosmopolitan was degrading its own mission, whilst the social activities of the modern artist was alienating him from his true calling."

Two paintings—"Magnanimity," in colour, and "The Cool of the Dale," in black-and-white—conclude the exhibition.

They serve as a parable and an epitome of the venerable artist's life, his ideal, and his prayer. In "Magnanimity" we see a hermit's hut among

the mountains where an artist dwells, and Tengu (bird-headed mountain monsters) come to distract him ; they symbolize the alluring attractions of life till the artist in despair turns his thoughts to the Gods, who descend on clouds to guide him to celestial understanding, and he renounces the iridescence of the world's vicissitudes, its problems, and its perplexities, whose colour, like flowers, fade and flee ; he discards them all for the austere sincerity and simplicity of Zen in the black-and-white painting "The Cool of the Dale," where at last the fever of life is stilled.

THE STORY OF THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY"

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

JUST fifty years ago Dr. James Burgess, then of the Indian Education Department, against the advice of the literary Englishman in India at the time, started a new monthly journal, which he called the *Indian Antiquary*. He was told that there was no room for such a journal in the country, that very few people would subscribe to it, that it could not live long and so would do no good, and that he would only lose his money. There was, indeed, in those days, much to be said for these views, as I found to my own cost some ten years later when the *Panjab Notes and Queries* was started under my editorship. There were three main difficulties: want of continuity of interest in those who affected antiquarian and archæological studies, largely owing to the shifting nature of the European population; want of continuity in the editing and management for the same reason; want of support from the natives of the country owing to the absence of the special education necessary. Both editing and publication tended to become a "one-man job," and in some respects they are still a "one-man job" after fifty years of experiment. But Dr. Burgess was not a man to be deterred by such considerations as these, and so, on the January 1, 1872, the first number of the *Indian Antiquary* appeared, to be continued in the sequel every month through all kinds of difficulties from that day to this, and in a sense even beyond, as such a journal has to be prepared months ahead; so, while I am writing, the numbers for the next quarter are already made up, ready for the final printing orders.

Dr. Burgess was quite clear in his mind as to the objects and scope of his new journal, and expressed himself definitely on the subject on paper. He intended to provide a means of communication between the East and the West on matters of Indian research, and a journal to which students and scholars, Indian and non-Indian, could combine to send notes and queries of a nature not usually finding a place in the pages of the proceedings and publications of Asiatic Societies. It was thus to be a journal for all

India, supplementary to the work of the learned societies engaged in similar studies. It is this consideration that no doubt paved the way for the success it eventually attained. It has never fought anyone and has never striven to be anyone's rival. It has simply come in to help where help was wanted, provided the assistance given was genuinely for the promotion and encouragement of research. That was its aim, and from that aim it has never swerved.

A brief consideration of the contents of the first volume (1872) will show to an illuminating extent how the work has been carried on during a whole half-century, as they are typical of the contents of the forty-nine annual volumes that have followed it. *Archæology* was represented by "rude stone monuments" in Chota Nagpur, "caves" in Ceylon, Khandesh, and Toungoo (Burma). *Chronology* by "the date" of Patanjali. *Epigraphy* by edited inscriptions in Western India, Bengal, Madras, Ceylon, and Canara. *Ethnology* by accounts of the Dards, Gonds, and Kurkus of Bhopal, Dravidians of Madras, Palis of Bengal, and the ancient Dasuss. *Folklore* by notes from Orissa, Oudh, Kathiawar, Bengal, and South India. *Geography* by place-names in Magadha, jungle forts in Orissa, the district of Mathura, and a Persian map of the world. *History* by accounts of the Mughal grandees, the Gauli Raj in Khandesh, and the Bhar Kings of Oudh. *Literature* and *Philology* by the indigenous literature of Orissa, a translation from Chand, some Bengali songs, and accounts of the Ramayana, Bhavabhuti as a poet, the Vrihatkatha, and of a search for Sanskrit MSS. in Gujarat. *Numismatics* by an account of the discovery of Græco-Bactrian coins at Sonpat in the Panjab. *Paleography* by notes on the oldest Indian alphabet and on old Sanskrit numerals.

It will be seen that the *Indian Antiquary* plunged at once *in medias res*, and boldly tackled the questions of the day. It was, indeed, a remarkable beginning, not only for the range and nature of the subjects discussed, but for the quality of the discussions, as the names of the contributors will show. In truth it was a *début* more notable than contemporary students ever even guessed at, because so many of the writers afterwards attained to fame in the world of research and otherwise, and so many of the articles were themselves the foundation of work that subsequently became famous. Among the contributors were (Sir) R. G. Bhandarkar, Albrecht Weber, T. W. Rhys-Davids, J. F. Fleet, E. W. Leitner, C. E. Gover of the "Songs of the Wild Folk in the Nilgiris," G. H. Damant of the tragic

death in Assam, Rajendralala Mitra, J. H. Beames, the early philologist, F. S. Growse, the historian, H. Blochman, W. F. Sinclair of Maratha history fame, W. C. Bennett of the old N.W.P., J. Aufrecht, K. M. Banerjea, Georg Bühler, J. Murray-Mitchell, and last, but not least, A. C. Burnell of *Hobson-Jobson*. It was in this first volume that Bhandarkar and Weber started that inquiry into the dates of Hindu writers which has subsequently borne so much fruit, and Fleet, in many senses the father of Indian epigraphy, began his invaluable series of adequately and systematically edited Indian inscriptions, which was to put ancient Indian history on a firm basis. It was in this first volume, too, that the folklore of the whole country began to be studied in a way that has led to so much knowledge of the thoughts and feelings of the people in these later days, and that has, alas! been so much neglected by students in England, who seem to have lost sight of the work done by their contemporaries in India itself. It was here also that place-names began to find an inquiry turned on to them, which has since done so much to illuminate Indian geography, ancient and modern. And last, but not least, it was in this volume that an account was published of Bühler's first search for Sanskrit MSS., which led later on to that long-sustained search everywhere for old Indian MSS. in many tongues, that has done so much to preserve the bygone literature of the people and make it live again, to the incalculable good of its present representatives.

The *Indian Antiquary*, however, like everything else, did not spring full-blown into existence, and it had to grow with the ever-increasing knowledge brought about by the exertions of its own contributors and of the researches of the Asiatic Societies, of which it was ever the faithful handmaid. Having found that it supplied a real want, it soon settled down to a definite method of procedure, and set to work to compile for itself a fixed range of subjects, to which it has so far steadfastly adhered without becoming hide-bound thereby. The subjects may be enumerated thus: archæology, geography, history, folklore, languages, literature, numismatics, philology, philosophy and religion of the Indian Empire and, to a certain extent, of its surroundings. Practically all these subjects are still discussed in its pages, though now in a manner that accepts, as axioms, statements and views which in its earlier years were still tentative hypotheses—the proving of the truth of them being largely the work of its own present and bygone contributors.

Following on its first volume, the work of the *Indian Antiquary* went on steadily, volume by volume, almost each one containing some advance in method and knowledge. Thus Vol. II. (1873) contained an article by Dr. Burgess on the art of copying inscriptions, which began the modern mechanical method of reproduction, and also the first reproduction by Lewis Rice on the lines thus laid down. This beginning in the right direction was followed up in 1875 and 1876 (Vols. IV. and V.) by Fleet and Bühler by the systematic editing of inscriptions on the then new plan with the subsequently well-known method of facsimile reproduction: the former commenced that series of well over two hundred edited Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions, which made him the foremost of the Indian epigraphists. And then in Vol. VI. (1877) Griggs came on the scene with his very fine series (some hundreds) of photographs from facsimiles of inscriptions, which showed the way to practically everyone who had since undertaken scientific reproductions. Other famous scholars joined in the work of elucidating Indian history by means of epigraphical studies—Burnell, Bhagwanlal Indraji, Hørnle, West, Hultsch, Jolly, Winternitz—and many lesser lights. In fact, for the first twenty years of its existence, the *Indian Antiquary's* chief claim to eminence as a journal devoted to research lay in its persistent publication of epigraphic data, as the surest means of ascertaining the precise facts of the history of the forgotten times of old. In the last year of Dr. Burgess's control, Vol. XIII. (1884), a notable contribution appeared in Bühler's fundamental articles on the Asoka Pillars at Dehli and Allahabad, following on laborious and costly mechanical facsimiles undertaken by the journal and beautifully reproduced by Griggs. Closely connected with epigraphy is the science of chronology. This, too, has been steadily studied by the writers in the *Indian Antiquary*. It began with an article by Fleet on "Indian Eras" in Vol. VIII. (1879) and D. B. Hutcheon's "Conversion of Mohammedan Dates" in Vol. XII. (1883). Subsequently Fleet entered on those unique studies which have made a certainty of what had hitherto been based on conjecture—in itself not only a monument to his invaluable labours, but an achievement of which any scientific journal may legitimately be proud of having published.

The early issues of the *Indian Antiquary* were, however, far from being concerned only with epigraphy and chronology. Its second volume (1873) saw the commencement

of that long series of articles on Chinese references to Indian Buddhism, which have since become so fruitful a source of accurate knowledge on that great subject. In 1879 (Vol. VIII.) Yule and Burnell began "*Hobson-Jobson*," the universally known glossary of Anglo-Indian terms. In that year appeared, too, McCrindle's "*Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*" and Dr. John Muir's "*Metrical version of the Mahabharata*." The next year saw a new departure in the study of folklore in Mrs. F. A. Steel's and Temple's "*Folk-Tales of the Panjab*," afterwards published as "*Wide Awake Stories*." This contained for the first time an analysis of the incidents on which the modern folk-tale is built, leading, in the hands of many subsequent students, to the present-day scientific knowledge of the general subject.

Dr. Fleet and the present writer had been contributors to the *Indian Antiquary* for some time—Fleet since the commencement and myself since 1878—when Dr. Burgess had in 1884 to give up his labours, owing to failing sight, which he happily recovered subsequently. Fleet and I had not only been contributors to the journal, but we had worked together with a little hand-press in Simla, producing scientifically accurate facsimiles of copper-plate grants, and teaching a small staff how to produce accurate *estampages* of inscriptions on rocks and stone. That was the original cause of our undertaking to succeed Dr. Burgess as responsible joint editor and proprietor of his journal. Like Dr. Burgess, we both had official duties to carry on. The partnership lasted for seven years—from 1885 to 1892, when Fleet had to give up his share in the work.

We made no change in the conduct of the journal, and Fleet commenced the long series connected with his name of notes and articles on early Indian chronology with our first joint volume (XIV.) in 1885. These notes took a definite form in 1887 (Vol. XVI.), and in this great work he was joined by Sh. B. Dikshit, Jacobi, Kielhorn, Sewell, and others, some of them sending contributions subsequently appearing as well-known books. But perhaps the most important contribution of all was Dr. R. Schram's "*Table for Hindu Dates*" in 1889 (Vol. XVIII.). The kindred subjects of epigraphy and geography were never neglected. Kielhorn, Burgess, Bühler, and Hultzsch all joined in, while Sir Aurel Stein sent the first of his many contributions in 1885 (Vol. XIV.), "*Afghanistan in Avestic Geography*." It may be noted here that in

1889 (Vol. XVIII.) Hultzsck drew attention to the great Kashmiri historical work, Kalhana's "Rajatarangini," which Stein subsequently made his own.

In the first year of the joint editorship, Sir George Grierson appeared as a writer for the first time with a summary of the "Alhakhand" as the commencement of many papers on Indian literature. He was followed in the next year, 1886 (Vol. XV.), by Lady Grierson with her "English-Gipsy Index," followed in her turn in this study by her husband on "Indian Gipsies" in 1887 (Vol. XVI.) and later. This made her the second lady contributor, Mrs. F. A. Steel being the first, but in the same volume Mrs. J. K. Kabraji (Putlibai Wadia) was the first non-European lady contributor with her "Western Indian Folk-Tales." The courageous Ramabai (R. D. M.) was the second in a like capacity. In 1887 Mr. J. Hinton Knowles's "Kashmiri Tales" appeared, which afterwards became a book, while in 1889 (Vol. XVIII.) Taw Sein Ko started on his important Burmese folklore series. In another direction Colonel Jacob, in 1886, initiated his studies in Hindu philosophy, while Numismatics were well represented by Stein, Rodgers, Fleet, and Kielhorn.

The work of these seven years might well be further dilated upon, so as to bring to light again well-known names of the past, if space allowed, but it is now necessary to pass on to the story of the next twenty, when the responsibility fell upon myself alone, both as editor and proprietor, from 1892 to 1911 inclusive.

(To be continued.)

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